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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

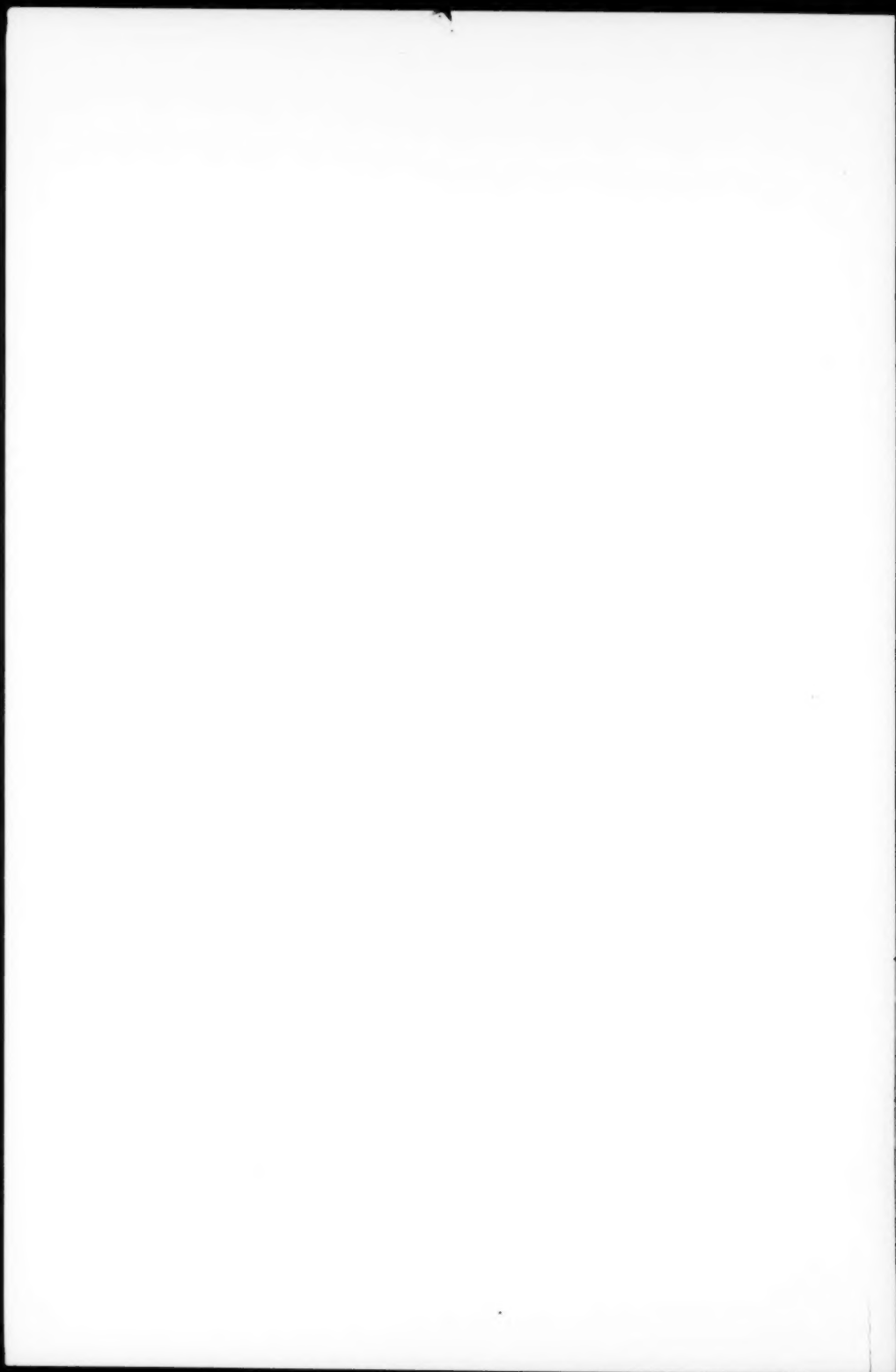
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PERCEVAL'S FATHER AND WELSH TRADITION

FEW CHARACTERS IN THE GRAIL LEGEND are more mystifying than Perceval's father. In the earliest extant Grail text, Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*, he is nameless; but in other romances he is known variously as Bliocadran, Gahmuret, Alain li Gros, Gales li Caus, Pel-linor, and even Perceval.¹ Though the accounts of his life vary as widely as the names, it is generally recognized that three of the more detailed versions are evidently related to one another: the brief passage in Chrétien, ll. 407-488,² the *Bliocadran Prologue*,³ and the first two books of Wolfram's *Parzival*, which deal with the adventures of the hero's father Gahmuret.⁴ Their relationship, however, is by no means close enough to be explained away by the convenient assumption that Chrétien's version is the source of the other two.⁵ The problem is far more complex; for, as I hope to show here, these three stories are intricately linked with a number of Arthurian texts outside the orbit of Chrétien's influence. A study of these parallels will make it clear that the correspondences in the stories of Perceval's father are due to their development from a widespread Arthurian tradition rooted in early Welsh legend.

First, let us compare the three accounts of Perceval's father. Chrétien's version is presented in a curiously indirect manner. The widowed mother of Perceval tells her young son the story of his late father:

Perceval's father was the most renowned warrior "en totes les Isles de la mer

1. These names appear respectively in the *Bliocadran Prologue*, *Parzival*, *Perlesvaus*, Gerbert de Montreuil's *Continuation of the Conte del Graal* (ed. Mary Williams [Paris, 1922], l. 3072), *Le Livre d'Artus*, and the English *Sir Perceval of Gales*.

2. Christian von Troyes, *Der Percevalroman* (*Li Contes del Graal*), ed. A. Hilka (Halle, 1932). The romance is dated usually between 1174 and 1190; cf. J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, 2 ed. (Baltimore, 1928), I, 220, 223, and Hilka, *Percevalroman*, p. xxiv.

3. Ed. Hilka, *Percevalroman*, pp. 430 ff.

4. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival und Titurel*, ed. E. Martin (Halle, 1900), Vol. I.

5. These three texts have been the subject of much discussion, chiefly in an effort to determine the indebtedness of Wolfram and the *Bliocadran Prologue* to Chrétien. The results have been singularly diversified. Cf. Gottfried Weber, *Wolfram von Eschenbach in Deutsche Forschungen*, xviii (1928), 133, 148 f.; Sister Mary A. Rachbauer, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, 1934), pp. 5-16; Jean Fourquet, *Wolfram d'Eschenbach et le Conte del Graal* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, 1938); Maurice Wilmette, *Le Poème du Gral. Le Parzival de Wolfram D'Eschenbach et ses sources françaises* (Paris, 1933); S. Singer, *Wolframs Stil und der Stoff des Parzival* (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 180, abh. 4, Vienna, 1916), pp. 47-64; J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval* (London, 1906), I, 57-75; R. Heinzel, *Ueber die französischen Gralromane* (Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 40, abh. 3, Vienna, 1892), p. 81; W. Golther, *Parzival und der Gral* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 139 f.; A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Die Sage vom Gral* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 69-74.

[l. 419].” He was wounded “parmi les janbes . . . Si que il maheigna del cors [ll. 436 f.]”⁶ He lost all his lands and his treasures, and fell into great poverty:

*Sa granz terre, ses granz tresors,
Que il avoit come prodon,
Ala tot a perdicion,
Si cheï an grant povretê.
Apovri et deseritê
Et essillié furent a tort
Li jantil home après la mort
Uterpandragon, qui rois fu
Et pere le bon roi Artu.
Les terres furent essilliees
Et les povres janz avilliees,
Si s'an foï qui foïr pot. [ll. 438-449]*

After these disasters he took refuge in his manor “an ceste forest gaste [l. 451].” Because of his wound he was transported there in a litter. At the time of their exile Perceval was two years old, but he had two elder brothers. When they were old enough, they departed to take arms. Both were knighted on the same day, the elder by King Ban de Gomeret, the younger by the King of Escavalon. Both were slain on the same day as they were returning home to visit their parents. Perceval’s father died of grief at their death.

A fuller but quite different account of Perceval’s father appears in the *Bliocadran Prologue*, a text which is found in two of the MSS of the *Conte del Graal*:⁷

The father of Perceval is Bliocadran, the last of twelve brothers “en la terre de Gale,” eleven of whom have met their death in tournaments and warfare. For a time Bliocadran yields to the entreaties of his wife and his people to refrain from tourneys though this activity would have assuaged his grief at the death of his brothers. At last he consents to attend a tournament held by the King of Gales, disregarding the pleas of his wife “de cuer dolent [l. 153].” He is mortally wounded and dies after two days. His friends bury him in a minster. Meanwhile his wife gives birth to a son (Perceval), but the news of her husband’s death is concealed from her until she is strong enough to bear it. When the child is seven months old, she decides to flee to the Gaste Forest, where her son may grow up innocent of the practices of chivalry which caused his father’s death. She leaves her estates in the care of a faithful kinsman.

6. It is important to note that four MSS (M, Q, R, U) read *hanches* and four others (B, C, H, L) read *hanche* for *janbes*. See Hilka’s note, *Percevalroman*, p. 623.

7. MSS B. M. Add. 36614 and Mons (L and P in Hilka’s ed.); also in the Prose of 1530. For discussion, see Fourquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-116; Weston, *op. cit.*, I, 71, ff., 95 ff.; Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 81. On the name, see E. Brugger, *Medieval Studies* . . . G. S. Loomis (Paris, New York, 1927), pp. 147-174. Bruce’s comment (*Evolution*, II, 90, n. 10) seems to me to offer the most plausible explanation: “*Bliocadrans* has probably suffered corruption at the hands of the scribes, until the true form is no longer recognizable.”

It is difficult to dismiss the *Bliocadran Prologue* as a mere expansion of the "données" in Chrétien's version. Chrétien knows nothing of the eleven brothers of Perceval's father; in the *Bliocadran Prologue*, on the other hand, there is no mention of Perceval's two elder brothers. In Chrétien's story the father, though incapacitated by his wound, does not die of its effects but of grief at the death of his elder sons; Bliocadran dies of a battle wound. Moreover, Perceval in Chrétien's account is two years old at the time of his father's wounding and exile, but Bliocadran dies shortly before the birth of his son. These and other readily apparent discrepancies make it unlikely that Chrétien's story could have been the inspiration of the *Bliocadran Prologue*. Yet the agreements in the two stories—the martial prowess of Perceval's father, his grief at the untimely death of close relatives, his wounding in battle, his death at the beginning of his son's life, the family's exile to the Waste Forest—are too substantial to be regarded as commonplaces. This combination of discrepancies and agreements points to a common source in oral tradition. The *Bliocadran Prologue*, then, may be considered an independent offshoot of this basic tradition.

The most elaborate and colorful of the three stories is presented in the first two books of Wolfram's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), which are devoted to the adventures of Gahmuret, the hero's father.

Galoès, the elder brother of Gahmuret, inherits the throne and all the lands of their father, King Gandin. Though Galoès generously offers Gahmuret a share of his patrimony, the younger brother sets out to win glory by feats of arms. Accompanied only by a small band of youthful squires, pages, and musicians, he wanders restlessly over the seas visiting many lands and winning fame as a warrior. He enters the service of the Baruch of Bagdad, the most powerful potentate of the Orient, but soon continues his travels. A narrow escape from shipwreck brings him to the land of Zazamanc, where the Moorish queen Belacane is besieged by a formidable army. He vanquishes her enemies, marries her, and becomes king. He rules the devastated land with such generosity that the trees seem to be laden with gold.⁸ Nevertheless, shortly before the birth of a son, he resumes his wanderings, deserting his wife because she is a heathen. He is at sea when his party-colored son Feirefiz is born.

Gahmuret then makes his way to Waleis, where Herzeloide, the queen of Waleis and Norgales, is holding a tournament. The prize is her hand in marriage. Gahmuret pitches a pavilion which surpasses all the others in extent; thirty pack horses are required to transport it.⁹ He wins the tournament but is grief-stricken at the news that his brother Galoès had recently been slain in a tourney and that his mother had died of a broken heart. Despite some reluc-

8. *Parzival*, ed. Martin, 53: 15 ff.

9. *Ibid.*, 61: 8-17.

tance he weds Herzeloide, who promises to permit him to attend a tournament once a month.¹⁰ Gahmuret is finally slain in a battle which he fought to help his old friend the Baruch of Bagdad. Before he dies he bids his retainers bring Herzeloide his blood-stained shift and the spear which caused his fatal wound. The Baruch buries him in a splendid tomb where the heathen worship him as if he were a god.¹¹ The tragic tidings and the relics of her husband are brought to Herzeloide two weeks before the birth of Parzival. Gahmuret's relics are buried in a minster in his own land. Herzeloide leaves her estates and wanders until she reaches Soltâne, a wild and lonely forest, where she brings up her son in ignorance of chivalry.

The relationship of these two books of *Parzival* to Chrétien and the *Bliocadran Prologue* has, of course, been frequently debated, especially in connection with the "Kiot-Frage." Although the question of Wolfram's immediate source is outside the scope of this paper, it is instructive to note that M. Jean Fourquet, who considers the *Conte del Graal* the only source of Books III-VI of *Parzival*, nevertheless demonstrates conclusively that neither the *Bliocadran Prologue* nor ll. 407-488 in Chrétien could have been used by Wolfram.¹² The differences are indeed sufficiently obvious, but the story of Gahmuret agrees partly with Chrétien and partly with the *Bliocadran Prologue*, in a manner that can be explained only if the three versions are independent developments of the same original tradition. For example, Gahmuret's exclusion from the inheritance of King Gandin parallels the loss of lands and treasure by Perceval's father in Chrétien, but there is no hint of poverty or exile in the history of Bliocadran. Also, according to both Wolfram and Chrétien, Perceval has an elder brother, though in the *Bliocadran Prologue* he is specifically said to be the first and only child.¹³ On the other hand, Gahmuret's sumptuous burial in a distant land and the entombment of his relics in a minster correspond to the burial of Bliocadran in a minster far away from his home; Chrétien does not mention the father's burial. Again, though Gahmuret and Bliocadran both succumb to their wounds, Perceval's father in Chrétien's story survives his wounding and dies of sorrow. All three accounts, however, agree in these respects: the martial prowess of Perceval's father; his

10. I have omitted in this summary the Ampflise episode because it is incidental to the main action and is not, in my opinion, a part of the original tradition. See for discussion, S. Singer, *ZfDA*, XLIV (1900), 327-333, and Singer, *Wolframs Stil und der Stoff des Parzival*, p. 55.

11. *Parzival*, 107: 1-28.

12. J. Fourquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-116, 189 f.

13. *Bliocadran Prol.*, ed. Hilka, ll. 55 ff.:

Bien largement encor .II. ans
Que ne porent avoir enfans,
Ne nul n'en avoient eü,
Tant que Deus les a porveü
Si que la dame ençainte fu.

grief at the news of his kinsmen's death in battle; his own premature death; and the retirement of the family to the Waste Forest. Finally, in both Chrétien and the *Bliocadran Prologue* the mother of Perceval is never named; but the epithet "de cuer dolent" by which she is described in the *Bliocadran Prologue* is exactly equivalent to the meaning of the name Herzeloide, which Wolfram assigns to Parzival's mother.¹⁴ These complex correspondences and marked divergences clearly indicate the traditional origin of the three stories.

A clue to this basic tradition is the significant statement in Chrétien's version concerning the wound of Perceval's father, which is almost identical with the description of the Fisher King's wound in the same romance:¹⁵

Perceval's father (ll. 436 ff.)	The Fisher King (ll. 3509 ff.)
<i>Fu parmi les janbes [hanches] navrez</i>	<i>Mes il fu an une bataille</i>
<i>Si que il maheigna del cors.</i>	<i>Navrez et maheigniez sanz faille</i>
.	<i>Si que puis eidier ne se pot,</i>
<i>Ne pot foïr . . .</i>	<i>Qu'il fu navrez d'un javelot</i>
<i>An litiere aporter se fist,</i>	<i>Parmi les hanches [janbes]¹⁶ anbedeus,</i>
<i>Qu'aillors ne sot ou il foïst.</i>	<i>S'an est ancor si angoisseus</i>
	<i>Qu'il ne puet sor cheval monter.</i>

Similar catastrophes, too, accompany the wounding of both characters:

Perceval's father (442 ff.)	The Fisher King (ll. 4675 ff.)
<i>Apovri et deserité</i>	<i>Et sez tu qu'il an avandra</i>
<i>Et essillie furent a tort</i>	<i>Del roi qui terre ne tandra</i>
<i>Li jantil home . . .</i>	<i>Ne n'iert de ses plaies gariz?</i>
<i>Les terres furent essilliees</i>	<i>Dames an perdront lor mariz,</i>
<i>Et li povres janz essilliees,</i>	<i>Terres an seront essilliees</i>
<i>Et s'an foï qui foïr pot.</i>	<i>Et puceles desconseilliees,</i>
	<i>Qui orfelines remandront,</i>
	<i>Et maint chevalier en morront.</i>

14. Though the etymology of Herzeloide is obscure (cf. Martin, *Parzival*, n. 89 f.), the meaning is plain. Cf. *Parzival*, 117:6—*ir herze niht wan jâmers phlac*; 117: 11 f.—*ir herzen jâmer was sô ganz*, /sine kêtre sich an keinen kranz; and 128: 20 ff.

dô viel diu frouwe valsches laz
af die erde, aldô si jâmer sneit
sô daz se ein sterben niht vermeit.

These and other references to Herzeloide's heart-sorrow suggest a connection of her name with the German word *Herzeleide*. Since Wolfram himself says that he was unlettered, and since, as Miss Richey remarks (*The Story of Parzival and the Graal* [Oxford, 1935], p. 209), "the greater part of his knowledge came to him through his hearing," the slight distortion in the form Herzeloide may have been due to the hazards of oral transmission.

15. This parallel has been noted by J. Lichtenstein, *Paul u. Braune Beiträge*, xxii (1897), 8. Cf. Brugger, *ZfSL*, LIII (1930), 437 n., and Weston, *op. cit.*, n. 308 n.

16. In MSS H, L, R the reading in l. 3513 is *jambes* instead of *hanches*. Cf. n. 7 above and Hilka's note to l. 436.

Startling though it may seem, two of the most distinctive characteristics of the Fisher King are also characteristics of Perceval's father: the wound through the thighs so that he may neither ride nor walk, and the concomitant desolation of the land. Lest it be supposed that Chrétien, with singular poverty of invention, borrowed these traits from his own description of the Fisher King and for no discoverable reason attached them to Perceval's father, two links with other traditions of the Fisher King independent of the *Conte del Graal* will correct this unflattering impression of Chrétien's intelligence.

We learn that Perceval's father was the most famous knight "en totes les Isles de la mer." Since this detail does not occur in Chrétien's account of the Fisher King, it cannot be derived from that source. But in the *Didot Perceval* the Fisher King Bron dwells "en ces illes d'Irlande" in one of the fairest places in the world, where he suffers from a great malady.¹⁷ There is abundant evidence, which has been assembled elsewhere, that the sojourn of the maimed Fisher King in an island in the sea is an authentic development of traditions concerning the Welsh sea god, Bran the Blessed, traditions which have profoundly affected not only the Grail legend but a number of other romances as well.¹⁸ First of all, the names Bron and Bran are almost identical. The Welsh Bran was wounded in the foot by a dart, a feature that corresponds to the wound of the Fisher King and Perceval's father.¹⁹

17. *The Didot Perceval*, ed. William Roach (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 306: "Et li Rois Peschiere si converse en ces illes d'Irlande en un des plus biaux lius del monde; et saces que il est a la gregnor mesaige que onques fust hom, et est cheüs en grant maladie." Roach (pp. 11 ff.), following Brugger (ZFSL, LIII (1930), 389 ff.), regards this passage from the Modena MS as part of the Prose *Merlin*. This view may be correct, but a garbled version of the same passage appears at the beginning of the *Perceval* section in the Didot MS (Roach, p. 139), when the voice of the Holy Ghost addresses Perceval's father: "... Brons ton pere est mult prodons ... et est conversez en ces iles d'Illande et avec lui le vesseaux Joseph que l'en apele Graal. . . Et lors sera gariz de son fermetez." Now Roach (pp. 35 ff.) has established that the words of the Holy Ghost unquestionably formed part of the original account, even though the passage does not occur at the beginning of the *Perceval* section in the Modena MS. As Roach rightly observes (p. 37), it was omitted by the redactor of Modena in an effort to correct the repetitious clumsiness of the original narrative. It seems likely, therefore, that the original passage deleted from the *Perceval* section of Modena was a repetition of the passage at the end of the *Merlin*. We are probably safe, then, in using the Modena passage instead of the garbled text of the Didot.

18. A. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (London, 1888), pp. 219 ff.; J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 306 ff.; W. A. Nitze, *Medieval Studies* . . . G. S. Loomis, 135 ff.; R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1927), pp. 147 ff.; *Modern Language Review*, xxiv (1929), 418 ff.; *Revue celtique*, XLVII (1930), 39 ff.; *Kastner Miscellany* (Cambridge, 1932), 342 ff.; *Romanische Forschungen*, XLV (1931), 66 ff.; *Speculum*, VIII (1938), 426 ff.; *Romania*, LXIII (1937), 383 ff.; PMLA, LVI (1941), 903 ff.; H. Newstead, *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1939), pp. 56 ff., 13 ff., 109 f., 124 f., and *passim*.

19. *Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Cardiff, 1930), p. 44; *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth (2 ed., Paris, 1913), I, 144.

And finally, one Welsh tradition localizes Bran's abode in a fair and kingly place on the island of Gwales (Grassholm) in the Irish Sea.²⁰ Chrétien's statement, therefore, that Perceval's father lived in "les Isles de la mer" links this figure not only with the Fisher King Bron of the *Didot Perceval* but also with the underlying Welsh tradition, and shows that the other parallels with Chrétien's Fisher King can not be the result of accident or inadvertence.

A passage in the *Livre d'Artus* strengthens the hypothesis that Perceval's father and the Fisher King are derived from a common original. In this text²¹ "li peres Perceval," here called Pellinor, is informed by a voice at the moment that a fiery lance wounds him "parmi les cuisses ambedeus":

Tu soloies auoir non li rois de la Gaste Forest Soutaine or auras non li rois peschierres.

Is this explicit identification of Perceval's father and the Fisher King based on tradition or is it merely the expression of a redactor's fancy? It should be noted, first, that this passage follows a quite different pattern from that of Chrétien, the *Bliocadran Prologue*, or *Parzival*. The name Pellinor and the story of his wounding by a fiery lance as he lies in bed find no counterpart in the verse narratives.²² On the other hand, we have already observed that Chrétien's account, the *Bliocadran Prologue*, and *Parzival* all agree in locating Perceval's childhood home in the Waste Forest. Chrétien, in l. 75, actually uses the phrase "la gaste forest soutaine" in referring to the place, and it is generally recognized that Wolfram's name for it, "waste in Soltâne"²³ is a garbled version of "la gaste forest soutaine." Though *Bliocadran* and *Gahmuret* are not specifically associated with the Waste Forest, in Chrétien's story Perceval's mother says (ll. 459 f.) that her wounded husband took refuge there in a manor which he owned:

Vostre pere cest menoir ot
Ici en ceste forest gaste.

Furthermore, since Perceval's father in Chrétien is said to be a knight, not a king like Pellinor, the extremely remote possibility of direct borrowing is precluded. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the *Livre d'Artus* was following an early tradition in identifying Perceval's father

20. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f., 214; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 145 ff. Cf. Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 903 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

21. *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. H. O. Sommer (Washington, 1913), VII, 243.

22. Cf. Loomis, *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 422; *Celtic Myth*, pp. 159-176.

23. *Parzival*, 117: 9 and 118: 1. Cf. Martin's note, *Parzival*, II, 118.

with "li rois de la Gaste Forest Soutaine." In view of the striking analogies between Perceval's father and the Fisher Kings in Chrétien and the *Didot Perceval*, the further identification in the *Livre d'Artus* of Perceval's father, "li rois de la Gaste Forest soutaine," with "li rois peschierre" must also be drawn from the same fund of tradition. The evidence, then, clearly points to the existence of one tradition that the Fisher King was Perceval's father.

This conclusion is supported by an illuminating parallel between the adventures of Gahmuret and the story of the Fisher King in *Sone de Nansai*:²⁴

Sone, the hero of the poem, visits an island castle called Galoche, which is surrounded by the sea and which has four towers, evidently at the four corners of the outer wall.²⁵ Sone is richly entertained at a feast by the twelve monks and their abbot who inhabit the castle. The abbot informs his guest that

... ce castiel fonda
Li sains cors, dont vous vees la
Le saint vassiel u se repose.

The holy body which reposes there is that of the Fisher King, here named Joseph of Arimathea. The abbot relates how Joseph, after his release from prison, left Eskalone in a boat, became a knight, and devoted himself to fighting for the faith. He traveled far and wide—"tant passa tierres et pays [l. 4761]"—until he reached Norway, which was inhabited by Saracens. Joseph drove out the heathen and was crowned king. He fell in love with the daughter of the Saracen king and married her, but his bride, though baptized, remained loyal to her heathen faith and hated Joseph for his destruction of her kinsmen. Two sons were born of this union. Nevertheless, God punished Joseph for his foolish love by wounding him "es rains et desous [l. 4775]" so that he was physically helpless. Since fishing was his only recreation, he became known as the Fisher King. During his infirmity, his kingdom grew barren and was called Lorgres because of its sorrows:

Bien doit iestu en dolour nommés,
Car on n'i seme pois ne blés,
Ne enfes d'omme n'i nasqui,
Ne puchielle n'i ot mari.
Ne arbres fueille n'i porta,
Ne nus près n'i raverdia.
Ne nus oysiaus n'i ot naon

24. *Sone von Nausay*, ed. M. Goldschmidt (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1899), ll. 4339 ff. Singer, *ZfDA*, XLIV (1900), 327 ff. was the first to recognize the significance of *Sone* in relation to *Parzival*. *Sone* is dated by Bruce (*Evolution*, I, 350) in the second half of the thirteenth century.

25. *Sone*, ll. 4557 ff. On Welsh tradition in this passage see Loomis, *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 933 f.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, 93 ff.

*Ne se n'i ot beste faon,
Tant que li rois fu mehagriens.* [ll. 4845 ff.]

But a knight finally healed the Fisher King so that he was able once again to confound the pagans in warfare. One of his sons died young, but the king lived to his appointed term. Shortly before his death he provided for the establishment of a monastery on the island of Galoche, where his body and those of his sons were to be enshrined. Together with the Grail and the spear, these relics were tended and venerated by the abbot and the twelve monks.

Since nowhere else is the Fisher King named Joseph of Arimathea and since these bizarre adventures (with the exception of ll. 4569-4716) are no part of the Joseph legend, the name is obviously a late addition and of no significance in our present study of the basic tradition. Once this potential source of confusion is eliminated, we may perceive the following agreements in the stories of Gahmuret and the Fisher King in *Sone*:

1. Both are knights who win fame in warfare.
2. Both travel to many lands by sea.
3. Each marries a heathen princess.
4. This marriage proves unsatisfactory. Gahmuret deserts his heathen bride because of differences in faith; the Fisher King is punished by God for his folly.
5. Each becomes the father of two sons. Gahmuret has one son by Belacane and another by Herzeloide. The heathen wife of the Fisher King is apparently the mother of both offspring.
6. Each outlives a close kinsman, whose death is untimely. Gahmuret survives his brother Galoes, who is slain in battle. The Fisher King survives his elder son.
7. Each before his death provides for the disposition of certain relics—Gahmuret's shift and spear, the Fisher King's Grail and spear.
8. Each is buried in a place that becomes the center of religious worship. The heathen worship at the tomb of Gahmuret, and his shift and spear are interred in a minster. The Fisher King's body, together with the Grail and the spear, is enshrined in a monastery.

These points of correspondence demonstrate an unmistakable similarity in outline. In addition, the Fisher King in *Sone* reveals, in features which are not present in Gahmuret, connections with Perceval's father in Chrétien, the *Bliocadran Prologue*, and *Perlesvaus*, as well as with other Fisher Kings.

Like the father of Perceval in Chrétien's story, the Fisher King in *Sone* is connected with an island in the sea. The name of the island,

Galoche, as Bruce has established,²⁶ is a misunderstanding of the Old French adjective "galesche," which means Welsh. This island, furthermore, embodies features characteristic of Welsh Otherworld tradition.²⁷ The four-cornered island fortress corresponds closely to the four-cornered island fortress of Welsh legend, Kaer Siddi ("faery fortress").²⁸ Another version of this island elysium, similar to Kaer Siddi, is the island of Gwales,²⁹ which as we have seen, connects Perceval's father with the Fisher King in the *Didot Perceval* and with his Welsh prototype Bran. The undeniable Welsh origin of the island of Galoche, then, not only associates the Fisher King in *Sone* with his counterpart in the *Didot Perceval*, but also adds another link in the chain of evidence connecting him with Perceval's father.

The Fisher King in *Sone* and Perceval's father in Chrétien both suffer from a crippling wound, though this feature does not appear in the story of Gahmuret. The Fisher King is wounded "es rains et desous"; Perceval's father, "parmi les janbes [hanches]." These afflictions, though not mortal, disable the victims. In both stories the wounding is accompanied by similar disasters. Although Chrétien severely rationalizes the calamity as a kind of political chaos and desolation following the death of Uther Pendragon, there can be little question, as we saw in our comparison of this story with Chrétien's account of the Fisher King, that it represents the same tradition of a catastrophic blight upon the land. This tradition is more fully preserved in *Sone*: the result of the king's infirmity is a sympathetic barrenness of nature and mankind. The clearer version in *Sone* not only reinforces the connection between Perceval's father and the Fisher King but it also suggests a Celtic origin for the motif of the blighted land. For just as the Fisher King's rash marriage with a heathen causes his wound and the resulting sterility of the land, so in the Irish *Echtra Airt*³⁰ the union of a king with an evil woman from the Land of Promise desolates Ireland: "There was neither corn nor milk in Ireland during that time."

The parallelism between the Fisher King and Gahmuret, nevertheless, is not complete. The wounding and subsequent healing of the Fisher King are not paralleled in the story of Gahmuret. It is significant, however, that this gap in the Gahmuret story is filled by the

26. *Evolution*, I, 350, n. 16.

27. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 206 ff.; PMLA, LVI (1941), 901-905, 133 f.

28. Kaer Siddi is mentioned in two important poems in the *Book of Taliesin*. See *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, ed. J. G. Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910), p. 34, ll. 8 ff. and p. 54, ll. 16 ff. For translation and discussion, see Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 902, 889, 901-905.

29. Loomis, *loc. cit.*, 903 ff., 135 f.

30. R. I. Best, *Eriu*, III (1907), 155; Loomis, *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 423.

account of Anfortas, the Fisher King in *Parzival*. Like the Fisher King in *Sone*, Anfortas in his youth was smitten "durch die heidruose sîn"³¹ by a poisoned spear as a punishment for his devotion to unlawful love. This particular explanation of the Fisher King's malady appears only in these two romances,³² and as we have observed, it is rooted in Celtic tradition. Both kings also languish in agony for a long time until a knight heals them. We may discern in the laconic statement in *Sone* (ll. 4825 ff.):

*Chelle vie ot maint jour mené,
Tant c'uns chevaliers l'ot sané,*

a bald outline of the narrative which Wolfram so richly unfolds in Books v, vi, ix, and xvi, and which reaches its climax when Parzival accomplishes the healing of Anfortas. Now since Wolfram distinguishes between Gahmuret, the father of Parzival, and Anfortas, his uncle, it is obvious that his immediate source did not identify them. Yet it is equally clear that the two characters must have developed from the same original in some earlier stage of tradition, for it can be no coincidence that the story of Gahmuret complemented by the story of Anfortas should provide a complete parallel to the story of the Fisher King in *Sone de Nansai*.

Finally, as we have noted, Gahmuret and the Fisher King in *Sone* are buried under similar circumstances. Gahmuret's tomb is worshiped and his relics are enshrined in a minster; the Fisher King and his sons are buried together with the Grail and the spear in a monastery. The burial of Bliocadran in a minster confirms the relationship. But additional testimony is furnished by an interesting analogue in *Perlesvaus*³³ which combines in one story traits characteristic of both the Fisher King and Perceval's father:

Perlesvaus (Perceval) reaches an island in the sea inhabited by twelve hermits, who explain that they tend twelve chapels which are the tombs of twelve knights, all brothers. These twelve brothers were Perlesvaus' father and eleven uncles. The hermits relate that all of them had been slain in combat and that Perlesvaus' father, the eldest, had been the last to die. Perlesvaus, before he leaves the island, hears mass in his father's chapel, which is the richest of all.³⁴

In this story the island setting, the twelve hermits, and the religious

31. *Parzival*, 479: 12.

32. Loomis, *Speculum*, viii (1933), 423.

33. *Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus*, ed. W. A. Nitze, T. A. Jenkins (Chicago, 1932), I, ll. 9830-9854. This romance may be dated ca. 1200: see *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, II, 73-89.

34. In this text Perlesvaus' father is named Alain li Gros; on the form of the name in the MSS, see *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, II, 195 f. See below, p. 19 for further discussion of this family.

service strongly recall the setting of the Fisher King's tomb in *Sone de Nansai* on an island inhabited by twelve monks and their abbot. In both *Sone* and *Perlesvaus*, too, the visitor to the island learns the story of the tomb from a member of the religious community and hears mass in the chapel where the sepulcher is located. It is also noteworthy that the Fisher King in *Sone*, like Perlesvaus' father, is buried with younger members of his family whose untimely death he had survived. On the other hand, the *Perlesvaus* account closely resembles the *Bliocadran Prologue*. Like Bliocadran, Perlesvaus' father outlives his eleven brothers, all of whom are slain in warfare; he himself dies of a wound and is buried in a chapel in distant parts. Even if the author of *Perlesvaus* borrowed these details from the *Bliocadran Prologue*, which is very unlikely,³⁵ from what source did he derive the features that so closely parallel *Sone de Nansai*? Direct borrowing from *Sone* is out of the question, since *Perlesvaus* is the earlier text; nor could the author of *Sone* have derived his elaborate description of the setting, with its detailed resemblances to Welsh tradition, from the vague suggestions in *Perlesvaus*. A common source in tradition is the only logical explanation for the relationship of the *Perlesvaus* story to both *Sone de Nansai* and the *Bliocadran Prologue*. The intricate combination in *Perlesvaus* of elements from the stories of Perceval's father and the Fisher King leads us once more to the conclusion that the two characters must have developed from a single original.³⁶

Since all these facts testify to the basic identity of Perceval's father and the Fisher King, we are now prepared to explore their Celtic background. There is an impressive mass of evidence, too complicated to be detailed here, showing that the Fisher King in the Grail romances owes his most distinctive characteristics to his Welsh prototype, Bran the Blessed.³⁷ To summarize only the most salient points now, the traditions of Bran have contributed these elements: the name Bron,

35. On the unlikelihood of direct influence from *Bliocadran*, see *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, n. 123, n. 39. Note, also, that Bliocadran is not said to be the eldest of the brothers, as Perlesvaus' father is.

36. Two other tombs in *Perlesvaus* seem to reflect the same tradition, though their relationship to the traditions of Perceval's father is too complex to be discussed in this paper. One is the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea (ll. 6095-6128), which is located in a chapel at the entrance to the Grail castle and which is guarded by twelve hermits. The tomb opens at Perlesvaus' arrival in the chapel. The same story is related of a tomb near Kamaalot (ll. 5216-5244), the castle of Perlesvaus' father. This tomb is in a chapel, and it is tended by Perlesvaus' mother, who assumes her guardianship of it only after she becomes a widow. At the end of the romance, the coffins from both these tombs are placed next to the sepulcher of the Fisher King in the Grail chapel (ll. 10119-10125).

37. See references cited in n. 18 above. Also Newstead, *Bran the Blessed*, pp. 13-69, 169-178.

attached to the Fisher King in the *Didot Perceval* and to the Rich Fisher in Robert de Boron's *Estoire dou Graal*; the wound in the thighs or legs; and the association with a vessel of plenty and with blissful feasts. The influence of these Welsh traditions, however, is not limited to the figure of the Fisher King; a number of other characters scattered throughout the Arthurian romances preserve, more or less distinctly, definite traces of their Welsh original.³⁸ Among these Arthurian descendants of Bran, there are two whose stories reveal marked affinities with the traditions of Perceval's father. A study of their relationship to Perceval's father will bring us considerably closer to the Welsh traditions which underlie the whole complex of stories.

One of these analogues is the story of Brennius in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (ca. 1136).³⁹

Belinus and Brennius, the two sons of Dunuallo Molmutius, are rivals for the throne of their father after his death. A settlement based on primogeniture is finally achieved: Belinus, the elder, receives the crown and Locgria, Cambria, and Cornwall; Brennius is to be subject to his brother but is to rule Northumbria from the Humber to Caithness. Brennius, however, is induced to renew the struggle for the crown by obtaining an alliance with the King of Norway through marriage with his daughter. While he is in Norway, Brennius learns that his brother has seized all his lands, and he sets out at once with a strong fleet. At sea the Danish king, enamored of the Norwegian princess, attacks Brennius and captures her, but they are shipwrecked on the Northumbrian coast and taken prisoner by Belinus. When Brennius arrives in Britain, Belinus refuses to restore the damsel and the confiscated territory. A great battle follows, in which Belinus is victorious. The Danish king returns home with the Norwegian princess, and Brennius flees to Gaul, accompanied by only twelve knights. He wanders from one prince to another seeking aid, until he wins the favor of the duke of the Allobroges. He marries the duke's daughter and succeeds him as ruler. Brennius becomes famous among the Allobroges for his generous distribution of wealth and plenty. Assembling a great army, Brennius invades Britain to make war upon his brother, but the pleas of their mother reconcile them. The brothers join forces to conquer Gaul and Rome. Brennius remains in Italy, and the rest of his story, says Geoffrey, is too well known to need repetition. Belinus returns to rule Britain. When he dies, his ashes are enclosed in an urn on the top of the tower which he had built in London.

It is, of course, well known that the latter part of Brennius' career is based on that of the historical Brennus, the Gallic chieftain who

38. Loomis, *Modern Language Review*, xxiv (1929), 418 ff.; *Revue celtique*, xlvii (1930), 36 ff.; *Romanische Forschungen*, xlv (1931), 66 ff.; *Kastner Miscellany*, pp. 342 ff.; R., LXIII (1937), 383 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-167, 178 ff.

39. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. Acton Griscom (New York, 1929), pp. 276 ff.

sacked Rome in 390 B.C.⁴⁰ But history does not account for the rest of the story. Since the Welsh recensions of Geoffrey give the names of the brothers as Beli and Bran⁴¹ and since there is much evidence for a strong traditional association of Beli and Bran,⁴² it is probable that Geoffrey's portrait of Brennius is a blend of Welsh material about Bran and a few historical facts about Brennus, a character with a similar name.⁴³

A number of significant correspondences between Brennius and Perceval's father make it virtually certain that Geoffrey did not "fabricate" that part of the story which can not be traced to Roman history. In the first place, the disposition of the paternal inheritance parallels the opening of the story of Gahmuret. In both accounts, the settlement favors the elder brother, who inherits the crown and most of the wealth, while it impoverishes the younger and provides motivation for his departure to distant lands. The same pattern, though much obscured, appears in Chrétien's story of Perceval's father, who after the loss of all his lands and treasure following the death of Uther Pendragon, fell into great poverty and fled into exile.

Like Gahmuret, too, Brennius marries twice, and like the Fisher King in *Sone de Nansai*, his first bride is the daughter of the King of Norway. We have already noted the analogies between Gahmuret's first marriage and the marriage of the Fisher King in *Sone*: Gahmuret abandons his black bride because of her heathen faith and the Fisher King is punished sorely for marrying the heathen princess of Norway. In the story of Brennius, this theme naturally does not appear because of Geoffrey's awareness that he is dealing with a pre-Christian epoch. Nevertheless, though the connection is indirect, the brides of Gahmuret, the Fisher King, and Brennius seem to be fundamentally related.

As we have seen, the story of the Fisher King's marriage to the heathen princess of Norway, which resulted in his wounding and the desolation of the land, is derived from a Celtic tradition analogous to that preserved in the *Echtra Airt*. The evil woman in the Irish tale is said to be an exile from the Land of Promise,⁴⁴ that is, the Celtic

40. E. Faral, *La Légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), II, 135 f.; E. Vettermann, *Beihefte zur ZRP*, LX (1918), 219.

41. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, ed. Griscorn, p. 276.

42. Loomis, *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 920-924; J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 102; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-167.

43. Cf. Geoffrey's story of Estrildis (*Historia*, ed. Griscorn, pp. 254 ff.) for a similar fusion of Welsh legend and a story derived from a historical source; see J. S. P. Tatlock, *Speculum*, XI (1936), 121 ff. and R. S. Loomis and L. H. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York, 1938), p. 16.

44. *Eriu*, III (1907), 151 f.

Otherworld. It is illuminating to find, therefore, that the Welsh recensions of Geoffrey read Llychlyn for Norwegia.⁴⁵ According to Rhys, Llychlyn originally meant "the fabulous land beneath the lake or the waves of the sea," though after the twelfth century it came to mean Norway.⁴⁶ Whatever region Geoffrey may have had in mind, it is likely, in view of the Irish parallel, that earlier versions of the story preserved the primitive meaning of Llychlyn as the Otherworld and that consequently Brennius' first bride was a princess of the Otherworld. The process of Christianization accounts for the transformation of an Otherworld princess into a heathen, like the Saracen princess of Norway in *Sone*. Belacane may be regarded as a more distant development of the same tradition because of her relationship to the Saracen wife of the Fisher King, though of course she is not connected with Norway.⁴⁷ The story of Brennius' first marriage, then, provides a genuine link with the traditions of Gahmuret and the Fisher King.

Another parallel with the story of Gahmuret appears in the account of Brennius' second marriage. As a result of this marriage Brennius becomes ruler of the Allobroges after the death of his father-in-law and distinguishes himself by extraordinary generosity and hospitality:

Nec mora maritatur puella brennio. principesque patrie subduntur soliumque regni donatur . . . Tunc brennius principes patrie quos prius amicitia illexerat obnoxios sibi facere non diffugit. largiendo eis thesaurum ducis qui a tempore at-taorum suorum reseruatus fuerat.⁴⁸

Similarly, Gahmuret, after marrying Belacane, assumes the rule of her kingdom and distributes largess to his vassals as he receives their homage:

*si enphiengen, als ir frouwe hiez,
von im ir lant und des geniez,
als ieslŷtchen an gesöch.
diu armuot ir hêrren slöch.*⁴⁹

45. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, ed. Griscom, pp. 277 f. and p. 539, n. 35. Cf. *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. and trans. J. J. Parry (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), pp. 45-53.

46. J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 11; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, ed. Griscom, p. 539, n. 35.

47. Perhaps Belacane's dusky color may be derived from the same tradition. Two entries in the *Annales Cambriae* (Faral, *Légende arthurienne*, III, 48, 49) refer to the Danes as follows: "Mon vastata a gentilibus nigris" and "Urbs Ebrauc vastata est, id est Cat Dub Gint." Loth (*Mabinogion*, I, 362, n. 1) translates Cat Dub Gint as "le combat des nations noires." Since "gentiles" also means "heathen," an over-literal translation of some such term might have been responsible for the metamorphosis of a Scandinavian princess into the "black heathen" queen Belacane. But since the chronicles usually referred to the Danes rather than the Norwegians in this manner, the evidence is inconclusive.

⁴⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, ed. Griscom, pp. 283 f.

49. *Parzival*, 52: 5 ff.

He bestows gifts so lavishly that the trees seem to be laden with gold:

*swie verwüestet waer stn lant,
doch kunde Gahmuretes hant
swenken sölher gäbe solt
als al die boume trüegen golt.
er teilte grôze gäbe.
stne man, stne mäge
nâmen von im des heldes guot.⁵⁰*

His squires say that whoever desires riches should seek their lord, for he will banish care:

*sie jehent, swer habe geruoche,
op der ir hêrren suoche,
den scheid er von swaere.⁵¹*

Medieval rulers, of course, were expected to be open-handed, but these descriptions are not mere hyperbole. Brennius' hospitality and his bountiful distribution of food represent one of the most important characteristics of his Welsh original. Bran's hospitality was proverbial: he is noted in the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen* for his supernatural banquets, at which the participants enjoy abundance of food, exemption from advancing age, and such bliss that they are unaware of past sorrow.⁵² According to another Welsh tradition, Bran owned a horn of plenty which provided whatever food and drink one desired.⁵³ These Welsh traditions undoubtedly account for Brennius' hospitality and generosity, as well as for Gahmuret's reputation as a lord whose followers are freed from care.

Two other traits of Brennius reinforce the connection with the traditions of Perceval's father and the Fisher King. Like Gahmuret, Bliocadran, Perceval's father in Chrétien, and the Fisher King in *Sone*, Brennius is a celebrated warrior. When his advisers urge him to revolt against his brother, they allude to his military glory:

Adde quod in pluribus debellationibus expertus es qui totiens cheulfo duci morianorum in prouinciam nostram applicanti resistere potuisti ipsumque ex regno tuo fugare?⁵⁴

His later career of conquest emphasizes this side of his character.

50. *Ibid.*, 53: 15 ff.

51. *Ibid.*, 62: 11 ff.

52. *Pedeir Keinc*, ed. Williams, pp. 31, 46 ff.; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 124, 148 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f., 166; Loomis, *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 903-905.

53. Loomis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 911-913; Newstead, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

54. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, ed. Griscom, p. 277.

Moreover, like Gahmuret and the Fisher King, Brennius is a confirmed wanderer, traveling to Norway, Gaul, and Italy.⁵⁵ Even in the abbreviated account in *Sone*, the Fisher King's wanderings are conspicuous: he traveled from Eskalone to Norway, and "tant passa tierres et pays." In Robert de Boron's *Estoire dou Graal*, too, the Rich Fisher Bron is a wanderer.⁵⁶ Gahmuret's travels, of course, are more extensively described, and the restlessness of his spirit is symbolized by the device of an anchor on his armor:

*sin anker heten niht bekort
 ganzes lands noch landes ort,
 dane wärn sie ninder in geslagen:
 der hërre muose fürbaz tragen
 disen wöpenlîchen last
 in manegiu lant, der werde gast,
 nâch dem anker disiu mâl,
 wand er deheiner slahte twâl
 hete ninder noch gebtete.⁵⁷*

The characterization of Brennius as generous ruler, warrior, and wanderer is a composite of traits which appear sometimes separately and sometimes in combination in the stories of Perceval's father and the Fisher King.

Still another significant connection with the same traditions is provided by the group of twelve knights who accompany Brennius into exile. In the *Bliocadran Prologue* Perceval's father is one of twelve brothers "en la terre de Gale." In *Perlesvaus* the family of Perlesvaus' father consists of the same number of brothers, two of whom, Bruns Brandalis and Brandalus de Gales, bear names suggestive of the Welsh Bran.⁵⁸ In both the *Bliocadran Prologue* and *Perlesvaus* these families meet death in battle. The number twelve is also prominent in the Fisher King traditions. In Robert de Boron's *Estoire dou Graal* the Rich Fisher Bron is the father of twelve sons,⁵⁹ and in *Perlesvaus* twelve aged knights of youthful appearance dwell with the Fisher King in the Grail castle.⁶⁰ Since it is clear that, despite the varying relationships, a group

55. On the connection of this feature of Brennius with the traditions of Bran, see Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 19, 38.

56. Robert de Boron, *Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, ed. W. A. Nitze (Paris, 1927), ll. 2349, 2364 ff., 3357 ff. Cf. Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.

57. *Parzival*, 14:28-15:7. On the heraldic connections of Gahmuret's armor with Antschau in Steiermark, see Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 321, n. 16.

58. *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, I, ll. 43 ff.

59. Robert de Boron, *op. cit.*, ed. Nitze, ll. 2845 ff.

60. *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, I, ll. 2414 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 266 for evidence that ".xii." is the correct reading. For discussion of this passage, see Loomis, *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 426, and Newstead, *op. cit.*, p. 169 f.

of twelve kinsmen or companions was traditionally associated with both Perceval's father and the Fisher King, the presence of the same feature in the story of Brennius is another piece of evidence linking him with these two figures.⁶¹

To summarize, there are eight points of correspondence between the story of Brennius and the traditions of Perceval's father and the Fisher King:

1. Brennius' inferior share in the paternal inheritance: Gahmuret, Perceval's father in Chrétien.
2. His subsequent exile: Gahmuret, Perceval's father in Chrétien.
3. His two marriages: Gahmuret.
4. His first marriage to a princess of Norway: Fisher King in *Sone*, Gahmuret.
5. His generosity and hospitality: Gahmuret.
6. His martial skill: Perceval's father in Chrétien, Bliocadran, Gahmuret, the Fisher King in *Sone*.
7. His extensive wanderings: the Fisher King in *Sone*, Gahmuret, the Rich Fisher Bron.
8. His twelve companions: Bliocadran, Perlesvaus' father, the Rich Fisher Bron, Fisher King in *Perlesvaus*.

Since in seven of these eight points the story of Brennius agrees with that of Gahmuret, the relationship of the two characters cannot be denied. Yet no reader of the two stories can seriously entertain the notion that Wolfram borrowed from Geoffrey.⁶² The additional parallels with other accounts of Perceval's father and the Fisher King leave little room for doubt that Geoffrey based the story of Brennius upon a well-developed tradition, a tradition which he incorporated in the *Historia* almost fifty years before its earliest appearance in the extant Grail texts. And, as the connections of Brennius with Bran indicate, the story must have been venerable even in Geoffrey's day.

Another Arthurian derivative of Bran, Ban de Gomeret, also reveals important connections with Perceval's father.⁶³ Ban de Gomeret is mentioned in Chrétien's account of Perceval's father as the king who conferred knighthood upon one of Perceval's elder brothers (ll. 466 f.). Still more significant is the generally admitted derivation of the name Gahmuret from the French Gomeret.⁶⁴ The first part of the name, Ban,

61. On the Celticity of this feature, see Laura H. Loomis, *MP*, xxv (1928), 342 ff.

62. Geoffrey's story is one of fraternal strife and reconciliation; the story of Gahmuret is designed as a prelude to the birth of Parzival, the Grail hero. See below, p. 30.

63. On the connections with Welsh traditions, see Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-163.

64. *Parzival*, ed. Martin, II, 16; Brugger, *ZFSL*, LIII (1930), 404; F. Lot, *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose* (Paris, 1918), 147 f. Cf. also Hilka, *Percevalroman*, p. 624.

can be traced back to Bran through the omission of *r*, one of the commonest scribal errors. The variants Brauz and Ebroz found respectively in the MSS of *Erec* and the *Conte del Graal* support this hypothesis.⁶⁵

The second part, Gomeret, is probably derived from Gwynedd, the Welsh name for North Wales, as Lot proposed.⁶⁶ This is confirmed by the form Goynez for Gwynedd, found in *Fouke Fitz Warin*.⁶⁷ Lot's opinion that Gomeret is "une cacographie reposant sur une mauvaïse lecture du mot gallois"⁶⁸ is entirely plausible in terms of medieval scribal practice; for example, Goinet written with an *n* stroke over the nasal, could easily have been misread as Gomeret by mistaking the *i* as the first shaft of an *m*, and the *n* stroke as the confusingly similar overstroke for *er*. The identification of Gomeret with Gwynedd corroborates the proposed derivation of Ban from Bran, since the Welsh legends of Bran are located principally in Gwynedd.⁶⁹ In *Branwen*, Bran is associated with Harlech, Aberffraw, Arvon, and other places in Gwynedd;⁷⁰ and Castell Dinas Bran, near Llangollen, in the same region is a center of other legends about him.⁷¹ All these facts enhance the probability that Ban de Gomeret was originally Bran of Gwynedd.

Is there any additional evidence to support the unquestionable derivation of the name Gahmuret from Ban de Gomeret? The reference to Ban de Gomeret in the *Conte del Graal* is important because it occurs in the story of Perceval's father, though it tells us nothing about the character. But in Chrétien's earlier romance, *Erec et Enide*, the description of Ban de Gomeret⁷² confirms the onomastic connection with Gahmuret:

Vint li rois Bans de Gomeret,
Et tuit furent juene vasle:
Cil qui ansamble o lui estoient,
Ne barbe ne grenon n'avoient,
Mout amena jant arveisiee,
Deus çanz an ot en sa mesniee;

65. Christian von Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1890), l. 1975; *Percevalroman*, ed. Hilka, p. 624, n. to l. 467. Cf. Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 f.

66. *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 147 f.

67. *Fouke Fitz Warin*, ed. L. Brandin (Paris, 1930), p. 1: "En ycel temps Yweyn Goynez fust prince de Gales." Cf. Brugger, *Med. Studies* . . . G. S. Loomis, p. 149, n. 2, who first pointed out this reference, though disagreeing with Lot.

68. *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 147 f. Cf. Brugger, *Morf Festschrift* (Halle, 1905), p. 3.

69. W. J. Gruffydd, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1912-1913), p. 18; Loth, *Mabinogion*, I, 174; E. Anwyl, ZCP, I (1896), 288.

70. Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 124, n. 2; 134, n. 3.

71. Loomis, *Kastner Miscellany*, pp. 342 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff. Cf. Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 174, n. 1.

72. *Erec*, ed. Foerster, ll. 1975 ff.

*Ne n'i ot nul, queus que il fust,
 Qui faucon ou terquel n'eüst,
 Esmerillon ou esprevier,
 Ou riche ostor sor ou muïier.*

Just as Ban de Gomeret is celebrated for his retinue of joyous youths, so the youthfulness and gaiety of Gahmuret's companions are emphasized:

*dâ riten zweinze knappen nâch.
 sîn borvel man dort vor ersach:
 garzûne, koche unde ir knaben
 heten sich hin für erhaben.
 stolz was sîn gesinde:
 zwelf wol geborner kinde
 dâ hinden nâch den knappen riten,
 an guoter zuht, mit süezen stten.

 ein schilt, des ich ê gewuoc,
 den fuorte ein knappe vil gemeit
 derbt. nâch dem selben reit
 pustîner, der man och bedarf.
 ein tambûrr sluog unde warf
 vil hôhe sine tambûr.
 den hêrren nam vil untâr,
 dane riten flouitierre bt.
 und guoter videlaere drt.⁷³*

When we consider the Welsh traditions of Bran, the significance of this description of Ban's followers becomes clear. For the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen* relates that the followers of Bran banqueted on the island of Gwales for eighty years without growing older:

And there they spent the fourscore years, so that they were unconscious of having ever spent a time more joyous and mirthful than it. Nor did one of them know of the other that he was older by that time than when they came there.⁷⁴

It is easy enough to understand how the processes of rationalization transformed Bran's ageless and blissful companions into the joyous youths attending Ban and Gahmuret, but stronger evidence for the traditional origin of this feature is preserved in *Perlesvaus* in the account of the twelve aged knights in the Grail castle. Gawain feasts with these "xii. chevaliers anciens toz chenuz; et ne senbloient pas a estre de si grant aage comme il estoient, car chascun avoit .c. anz ou plus, et si ne

73. *Parzival*, 18: 21-19: 12.

74. *Pedeir Keinc*, ed. Williams, pp. 46 f.; Loth, *op. cit.*, 1, 148 f.; *The Mabinogion*, translated T. P. Ellis and J. Lloyd (Oxford, 1929), 1, 69 f.

senbloit pas que chascun eüst .xl."⁷⁵ Like Bran's companions, these venerable knights of youthful appearance participate in a magic feast, and since they inhabit the Grail castle, they are clearly associated with the Fisher King, whose original is the Welsh Bran. Moreover, as we have seen, the number twelve links them not only with other traditions of the Fisher King but also with the traditions of Perceval's father and Brennius. In view of these facts, it can hardly be doubted that Ban's and Gahmuret's youthful followers represent rationalized, chivalric developments of the same fundamental Welsh tradition.

This conclusion may be accepted for Ban de Gomeret, but could not Wolfram have derived the suggestion for Gahmuret's attendants from the *Erec* passage, either directly or through Hartmann's translation?⁷⁶ A consideration of one more detail will demonstrate the independence of Wolfram's version. Among the most prominent of Gahmuret's companions are his musicians; they are described not only in the quoted passage but later in Book II (63: 4 ff.). Wolfram's emphasis upon this feature clearly shows that it is no casual decorative touch. Since musicians are not mentioned in the account of Ban de Gomeret, we must postulate another source. It is therefore significant to find that musicians are associated with the Welsh Bran. In *Branwen* he is said to carry his musicians on his back as he wades across the Irish Sea, while his other men follow in boats.⁷⁷ If Rhys, MacCulloch, Squire, and Krappe⁷⁸ are correct in their assumption that Bran is the subject of Poem XLVIII in the *Book of Taliesin*,⁷⁹ then Bran may also be regarded as the patron of bards, minstrels, and all musicians. In any case, the tradition of Bran's musicians provides a parallel for one detail in the description of Gahmuret's companions for which there is no equivalent in the account of Ban de Gomeret. Evidently, then, Ban de Gomeret and Gahmuret owe their resemblances of name and character to a common source in the Welsh traditions of Bran.

King Ban also appears in the Vulgate romances as Ban de Benoic, the father of Lancelot. So far as I know, no one has disputed the identity of Ban de Gomeret and Ban de Benoic. Despite the ingenious arguments of Lot that the form Benoic, like Gomeret, is derived from Gwynedd,⁸⁰

75. Ed. Nitze, ll. 2414 ff. See above, n. 60.

76. Cf. Fourquet, *op. cit.*, p. 189 f. for an expression of this view.

77. *Pedeir Keinc*, p. 39; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

78. J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 256, and *Hibbert Lectures* (London, 1886), p. 269; J. A. MacCulloch, *Celtic Mythology* (Boston, 1918), pp. 104-106; C. Squire, *Celtic Myth and Legend* (London, n.d.), p. 271; A. H. Krappe, *Etudes celtiques*, III (1938), 35.

79. *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, ed. Evans, p. 71, ll. 6 ff.; trans. in W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868), I, 297 f.

80. F. Lot, *R*, xxiv (1895), 335; *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 147 f.

it seems more likely that Ban de Benoic is a slight scribal corruption of Bran le Benoit, a French translation of the Welsh Bendigeitfran, Bran the Blessed.⁸¹ A number of features connecting him with the Bran traditions confirm this derivation of the name.⁸²

In the prose *Lancelot*, the earliest of the Vulgate texts, the story of Ban de Benoic reveals significant correspondences with the traditions of Perceval's father.⁸³

Ban has a brother, Bohors, a young wife, and a small son, Lancelot. Claudas makes war upon Ban with such success that Ban loses most of his men and all his land except one castle. His brother is unable to help because he is at the point of death. Since the castle is impregnable to direct assault, Claudas determines to take it by a ruse. He bribes the seneschal to persuade Ban to appeal personally to King Arthur for aid. Ban leaves the castle in the care of the treacherous seneschal, and secretly departs, taking with him all his treasure and accompanied by his wife and child. The seneschal opens the gates to Claudas, but Ban's loyal retainers resist and the buildings are set afire in the course of the battle. Meanwhile, Ban rides to the top of a hill for a last look at his castle, and when he sees it in flames, his heart bursts with sorrow and he dies. His queen, leaving the child by the lake at the foot of the hill, hastens to his assistance, but she is too late. When she returns to her child, she sees a damsel disappear with him into the lake. Overcome by grief, the queen takes the veil. She is known as "la roine as grans dolours." With her treasure she builds a minster on the hill where Ban died. There he is buried and the place is known as the Royal Minster ("moustiers roiaus"). The queen takes up her residence there with a small religious community and establishes the custom of daily mass for her husband and prayers for her son.

Later in the same romance, we learn that Ban is the father of another son, Hector des Mares, born out of wedlock⁸⁴ and older than Lancelot. A voice informs Lancelot at another point in the story⁸⁵ that partly because of his father's sin he will be prevented from achieving certain adventures:

Et dautre part las tu perdu par vn pechiet que li roys ban tes peres fist. quar puis quil ot esposee ta mere qui encore vit. il ama vne damoisele & de la vient vne grant partie de ton meschief.

Even in this diluted form the pattern is recognizable. Like Perceval's father in Chrétien, Ban loses all his lands after the death of Uther

81. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 145 f. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 92, 94 ff. and PMLA, XLV (1930), 432 ff. for other examples of French names translated from Welsh originals.

82. Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-163.

83. *Vulgate Version*, ed. Sommer, III, 3-16.

84. *Ibid.*, v, 117, 119.

85. *Ibid.*, IV, 176.

Pendragon in the course of warfare. Just as Perceval's father took refuge in the manor in the Waste Forest, so Ban retires to his last stronghold. At the time of these misfortunes each has an infant son who is the hero of the later story. Finally, like Perceval's father, he dies of grief. Lest this close resemblance of outline lead us to the rash conclusion that the author of the prose *Lancelot* borrowed from Chrétien, we need only note that the story of Ban has no equivalent for the highly significant wound of Perceval's father and that the motivation for his grief is quite different. Moreover, there are parallels with the other stories in our group which Chrétien's version does not account for.

Like Gahmuret and Brennius, Ban has one brother. Like Gahmuret, too, he is the father of two sons by different mothers. Though the circumstances differ, Ban, like Gahmuret, leaves the mother of the elder son before the child is born. The allusion to Ban's sinful love affair,⁸⁶ for which Lancelot is to be punished, also suggests the unfortunate amorous experiences of the Fisher King in *Sone de Nansai* and Anfortas, and their dire consequences.

Still more remarkable correspondences appear in the account of Ban's burial. Like Bliocadran, Gahmuret, and the Fisher King in *Sone*, Ban is buried in a center of religious worship, the Royal Minster. Ban's widow is called "la roine as grans dolors," a title which unquestionably links her with Bliocadran's widow "de cuer dolent" and with Herzelayde, whose name means "heart sorrow." The statement in the *Lancelot*⁸⁷ that "pour chest non quele se mist est apeles chis contes el commencement li contes de la roine as grans dolors" clearly indicates the traditional nature of her descriptive title. Furthermore, "la roine as grans dolors" tends the tomb of her husband and establishes a "custom" just as the mother of Perlesvaus, after she becomes a widow, cherishes the mysterious tomb in a chapel at Kamaalot and establishes a "custom."⁸⁸ These varied connections demonstrate an organic rela-

86. *Ibid.*, iv, 176.

87. *Ibid.*, iii, 15.

88. A confused version of the same tradition appears in another incident in the *Vulgate Lancelot*, *ibid.*, iv, 339 ff. Gawain and Hector come to an old chapel in a waste land. In the cemetery they discover a fiery tomb surrounded by twelve others, all in flames. They are beaten back by the flaming weapons on top of each tomb. An inscription on the door of the chapel informs them that only "li fiex a la roine dolerouse" can achieve this adventure. The "explanation" of the tombs in the *Estoire* (i, 267 f.) probably does not represent the original tradition, since the *Lancelot* is earlier than the *Estoire*. The incident in the *Lancelot* seems to be a conflation of the Perilous Cemetery theme (see *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, ii, 306 ff.) and the traditions which we have been considering. The mention of the Dolorous Queen links the story with Ban's widow, who guards a tomb. Just as the achievement of the adventure is reserved for her son, so only Perlesvaus can succeed in the adventure of the tomb at Kamaalot, which is tended by his mother. The same story is related of the tomb at the entrance to the Grail castle, and before Perlesvaus arrives, Gawain tries the adventure and fails, as he does

tionship between Ban de Gomeret-Ban de Benoit and Perceval's father. It is therefore obvious that Chrétien and Wolfram used the names Ban de Gomeret and Gahmuret not because of an eccentric fondness for them but because they were authentic elements of the traditional story.

It is now evident that the stories of Perceval's father, the Fisher King, Brennius, and Ban are all derived from the same reservoir of tradition. No other explanation accounts for the persistent recurrence of distinctive traits in so diversified a group of characters. Now since we know that the Welsh Bran is the original of the Fisher King, Brennius, and Ban, it is only logical to suppose that he is also the original of Perceval's father, for things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. If this reasoning is correct, a direct comparison of Perceval's father and Bran should confirm our conclusion.

The principal source for the traditions of Bran, the Mabinogi of *Branwen*,⁸⁹ in its extant redaction is a confused composite of fragmentary, though genuine, traditions which have been fitted together like a jigsaw puzzle.⁹⁰ By no means all of the stories about Bran are represented in *Branwen*, and the ingenious efforts of the *cyfarwyddon* to combine originally disparate elements into one tale have resulted in distortion and dislocation.⁹¹ Considering the corrupt state of *Branwen* and the fact that Welsh traditions were transmitted indirectly to the French romancers through the versions of Breton *conteurs*, we can hardly expect to find complete parallels between *Branwen* in its present form and any Arthurian text. Even with these handicaps, however, a comparison of Bran and Perceval's father reveals similarities that can not be accidental.

We have already observed that Perceval's father, like the Welsh Bran, is connected with the sea. According to Chrétien, he is the best warrior "en totes les Isles de la mer." The location of his domain in the isles of the sea corresponds to Bran's abode on the island of

in the *Lancelot* story. The location of the chapel and tombs in a waste land again suggests the territory so persistently associated with Perceval's father. The twelve tombs, moreover, recall the twelve tombs of Perlesvaus' father and his eleven uncles as well as the twelve monks and their abbot who guard the tombs of the Fisher King and his family in *Sone de Nansai*. On Celtic tradition in the *Estoire* passage, see L. H. Loomis, *Modern Language Review*, xxvi (1931), 413 f.

89. *Pedeir Keinc*, pp. 29-48; trans. by Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 119-150.

90. See W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928), for an exhaustive analysis of the incredibly complex mass of themes and tales which compose one of the Four Branches.

91. Cf. J. Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 43; A. Nutt in his edition of Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion* (London, 1902), p. 336; Ivor B. John, *The Mabinogion* (London, 1901), p. 12; E. Anwyl, ZCP, I (1896), 287; W. J. Gruffydd, *Trans. Cymmrodorion Society* (1912-1913), pp. 41, 61, 25, and *Math vab Mathonwy*, pp. 305, 47, 328 f.

Gwales in the Irish Sea, and the relationship is confirmed by the statement in the *Didot Perceval* that the Fisher King Bron dwelt "en ces illes d'Irlande." Another aspect of Bran's traditional association with the sea appears in Gahmuret's extensive travels overseas. The same feature is also characteristic of Brennius and the Fisher King in *Sone*, whose kinship with Bran is established on other grounds. Whatever may have been the heraldic significance of the anchor on Gahmuret's armor, Wolfram undoubtedly regarded it as symbolic of his hero's seafaring nature.

Another important tradition in *Branwen* is Bran's gigantic size. Bran is so huge that no house or ship can contain him. He holds feasts in tents, for "Blessed Bran had never been contained within a house";⁹² and he wades across the Irish Sea bearing his musicians upon his back while his army crosses in boats.⁹³ Because of his colossal size he is also a formidable adversary in battle, so formidable that his enemies fear to provoke him to combat.⁹⁴ His last battle results in terrible carnage. These traditions appear in rationalized form in the stories of Perceval's father. The three accounts of Perceval's father are unanimous in insisting upon his superlative martial accomplishments, though of course he is no giant. The story of Gahmuret, moreover, preserves traces of the other two traditions. Gahmuret's possession of a tent so huge that thirty pack horses are needed to transport it⁹⁵ recalls Bran's use of tents as a substitute for a house. And, as we have already noted, the prominence of Gahmuret's musicians in his retinue parallels the importance of Bran's musicians, whom he carries on his back, evidently as a mark of special favor, as he wades across the Irish Sea. The youthful companions of Gahmuret, too, are linked with Bran's ageless companions at the supernatural banquet in Gwales.⁹⁶

Still more striking are the parallels provided by the account of Bran's wounding, death, and burial. Bran is wounded in the foot by a poisoned dart, after a disastrous battle which results in the slaughter of all but seven of the Welsh.⁹⁷ But oddly enough, this wound is not the cause of his death. He commands his men to cut off his head and bury it in the White Hill in London. They obey him, and after a long period of wandering and exile in the company of the head, they bury it as directed in London, where it guards Britain from invasion until it is disin-

92. *Pedeir Keinc*, pp. 31, 40; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 124, 138.

93. *Pedeir Keinc*, p. 39; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

94. *Pedeir Keinc*, pp. 40 ff.; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 139 ff. Poem XLVIII in the *Book of Taliesin* also emphasizes this feature. Cf. Krappe, *Etudes celtiques*, III (1938), 35.

95. *Parzival*, 61: 13 ff.

96. See above, n. 74.

97. *Pedeir Keinc*, p. 44; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 144.

terred.⁹⁸ Obviously this story represents an attempt to fuse two originally independent traditions: one about Bran's wound and the other about his death and burial.⁹⁹ It is significant that precisely the same inconsistency appears in Chrétien's account of Perceval's father. Like Bran, Perceval's father is wounded "parmi les janbes." The wounding of Bran is accompanied by great destruction and is followed by a period of wandering and exile; so, too, Perceval's father, after his wounding, loses all his land and treasure and flees into exile. Finally, the wound of Perceval's father, like that of Bran, does not cause his death though it is followed by general disaster. Much later he dies of grief at the death of Perceval's brothers. Despite the differences in the two stories, the outline is the same, and the presence of the same illogical sequence of events in both can hardly be attributed to coincidence.

Branwen also furnishes a source for Chrétien's account of the death of Perceval's father. As we have seen, Chrétien's brief statement that Perceval's father died of sorrow corresponds to the more detailed account of Ban's death; and since the two characters are closely related in other respects, it is probable that the story of Ban's death preserves a fuller version of the original tradition so inadequately represented in Chrétien. At any rate, there is a remarkable parallel in *Branwen* to the story of Ban's death. Ban rides to the top of a hill to look once more upon his castle before he departs on a journey. He sees flames and smoke rising from it, and as he gazes upon the destruction of his last stronghold, his heart bursts with sorrow. His widow buries him in a minster erected on the spot where he died. In *Branwen*, after Bran's decapitation the seven Welsh survivors set out accompanied by Branwen, his sister. When they reach Aber Alaw, Branwen looks toward Ireland and Britain, and overcome by grief at the destruction of the two islands, she dies of a broken heart. Her companions bury her in a grave on the spot where she died.¹⁰⁰ The manifest correspondences make it clear that the story of Ban's death and the cognate story about Perceval's father rest upon Welsh tradition. The death of Branwen probably accounts, too, for the persistent tendency among the women of Perceval's family to die of a broken heart: Perceval's mother,¹⁰¹ Herzeloyde,¹⁰² and Gahmuret's mother¹⁰³ all die of sorrow. It is also worth noting that although Bliocadran and Gahmuret do not die of grief, much is made of their

98. *Pedeir Keinc*, pp. 45 ff.; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 145 ff.

99. Cf. Loomis, *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 904 f.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, p. 19 f.

100. *Pedeir Keinc*, p. 45; Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 146.

101. *Percevalroman*, I, 3595.

102. *Parzival*, 128: 20 ff.

103. *Ibid.*, 92: 30.

overwhelming sorrow at the death of their kinsmen. The motif of Branwen's death seems to be widely diffused in the traditions of Perceval's family.

Finally, the powerful tradition in the *Bliocadran Prologue*, *Parzival*, and *Perlesvaus* that Perceval's father was buried in a splendid tomb in a place of religious worship finds a counterpart in the burial of Bran's head in the White Hill in London. While Bran's head remained buried, it preserved Britain from invasion. The burial place was therefore a hallowed spot, with supernatural powers. No great effort of the imagination is needed to see how such a legend, translated into Christian terms, would develop into the tradition of a tomb in a chapel or minster, a place of sacred associations. The splendid tombs of Ban and the Fisher Kings in *Sone* and *Perlesvaus*, all of whom are derived from Bran, provide additional evidence that the ubiquitous tomb tradition is of Welsh origin.¹⁰⁴

The traditions preserved in the Mabinogi thus reveal the following parallels with the stories of Perceval's father:

1. Bran's connection with the sea: Perceval's father in Chrétien, Gahmuret.
2. Bran's use of tents: Gahmuret
3. Bran's musicians: Gahmuret
4. Bran's ageless companions: Gahmuret
5. Bran's prowess as a warrior: Perceval's father in Chrétien, Bliocadran, Gahmuret
6. The story of Bran's wound combined with the tradition of his death from another cause: Perceval's father in Chrétien.
7. The death of Branwen from grief: Perceval's father and mother
8. The burial of Bran's head in a hallowed place: Bliocadran, Gahmuret, Perlesvaus' father.

These points of correspondence are in themselves sufficient to establish a definite relationship between Bran and Perceval's father. These facts plus the intricate connections of Perceval's father with the Fisher King, Brennius, and Ban, are substantial evidence that the four figures owe their common characteristics to the Welsh traditions of Bran.

The traditional origin of Perceval's father clarifies a number of puzzles. It explains, for example, the tantalizing resemblances in the

104. Geoffrey of Monmouth seems to have known this Welsh tradition. Though Geoffrey (*op. cit.*, ed. Griscom, p. 290) does not relate how Brennius died, probably because he has substituted the story of Brennus for this part of the original tradition, he tells us that the ashes of Belinus were enclosed in an urn and interred in the tower which he had built in London. Since Bran's head was buried in London, it seems likely that Geoffrey transferred the story of Brennius' burial to his brother.

versions of Chrétien, the *Bliocadran Prologue*, and *Parzival*. The differences are the normal results of oral transmission and variation; they are unaccountable if Wolfram and the author of the *Bliocadran Prologue* worked from Chrétien's poem. It explains, too, the onomastic connection between Gahmuret and Ban de Gomeret, and the curious similarities in the descriptions of Bliocadran's widow, Herzeloyde, and "la roine as grans dolors."

The common descent of Perceval's father and the Fisher King from the same Welsh original also accounts for the numerous analogies between the two figures. If we assume that Chrétien transferred traits of the Fisher King to Perceval's father,¹⁰⁵ his eccentric literary behavior is incomprehensible. But if, as seems more likely, Chrétien's source presented him with two closely similar characters, the hero's father who died at an early point in the story and the Fisher King who languished until its climax, his solution of the problem is not only understandable but even ingenious. Observing the ethics of faithful adherence to his source, he did not suppress the story of Perceval's father but gave it an inconspicuous place in the narrative of Perceval's mother some four hundred lines after the beginning of the poem. The *Bliocadran Prologue* represents someone's attempt to tell the story in the orthodox chronological fashion. Although Wolfram was not subject to the same embarrassment as Chrétien, since his source clearly differentiated the two characters, yet the story of Gahmuret is complemented by the story of the Fisher King Anfortas in a way which strikingly accords with the basic tradition. Moreover, the detailed and extensive parallels between the story of Gahmuret and such widely divergent texts as *Sone de Nansai*, Geoffrey's *Historia*, *Perlesvaus*, the prose *Lancelot*, and the Mabinogi of *Branwen* justify Wolfram's confidence in his source and its fidelity to tradition.¹⁰⁶

The theory that Chrétien "invented" the story of Perceval's father collapses in view of the Brennius parallel, for in a text composed about 1136 we find a character undeniably linked with the Fisher King and Perceval's father. The traditions attached to Perceval's father, in other words, appear in written form as early as 1136. But to conclude from this chronology that the authors of the Grail romances drew upon Geoffrey's Brennius means that they carefully obliterated all traces of the theme of fraternal strife, as well as the connections with Roman history, and turned Brennius, whose fatherhood is not even suggested,

105. F. C. J. Los, *Das Keltentum in Wolframs Parzival* (Amsterdam, 1927), p. 81; Brugger, ZFSL, LIII (1930), 437, n.

106. *Parzival*, 453: 11-455:22; 827: 1-14.

into the parent of the Grail hero. Such a procedure is not only absurd but also contrary to the consistently respectful treatment of Geoffrey among those romancers who borrow from him.¹⁰⁷ The only explanation which fits all the assembled facts is that Geoffrey's Brennius, like Ban, Perceval's father, and the Fisher King, is derived from a traditional source. Since each of the four characters reveals unmistakable and varied ties with Bran, that source must be the Welsh traditions of Bran. This group of characters illustrates once more the important contribution of Welsh legend to the shaping of Arthurian romance.¹⁰⁸

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107. Stories borrowed from Geoffrey in the romances are usually easily recognizable. Cf. Loomis, *Kastner Miscellany*, p. 343.

108. I am indebted to Professor Roger S. Loomis for valuable advice and criticism.

QUELQUES LETTRES INÉDITES DE LA PÉRIODE ROMANTIQUE

(GEORGE SAND, ROYER-COLLARD, MOLÉ, MME
DESBORDES-VALMORE, MICHELET,
STENDHAL, LAMENNAIS¹)

LES LETTRES SUIVANTES, dont les manuscrits originaux se trouvent à la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, au fonds Eynard, sont pour la plupart adressées à Sainte-Beuve. Celui-ci était en effet lié avec le banquier genevois, Jean-Gabriel Eynard (1775-1863) et avec son fils adoptif, Charles; il s'occupait à l'occasion d'enrichir leur collection d'autographes. Une lettre de Mme Jean-Gabriel Eynard à ses enfants en témoigne: "... J'ai eu une succession de visites, entre autres l'amiral Baudin, fort intéressant, puis M. de Sainte-Beuve, qui m'a apporté un paquet pour vous, cher Charles, c'est un petit manuscrit tout de la main de George Sand qu'il considère comme une chose précieuse pour vous."² (25 avril 1841; lettre inédite).

C'est probablement par l'entremise de leur ami commun, le poète vaudois Juste Olivier, que le banquier et le critique se connaissaient.

I

George Sand à Sainte-Beuve

Mon cher et volage ami, j'espère que vous êtes revenu de la campagne où je crois que vous n'êtes jamais allé,³ et je ne sais pas si je serai indiscrette (*sic*) en vous demandant de venir me voir. j'ai un tout petit service à vous demander. peut-être cela vous décidera-t-il à être moins sauvage ou moins *coquet* avec moi.⁴ mais il me semble que j'ai été assez longtemps discrette, et que je puis bien me plaindre un peu.

à vous de cœur

George

rue Pigale 16

1. Cette dernière lettre, de Lamennais, sans être inédite est presque introuvable. Nous ajoutons le nom de Lamennais ici pour la plus grande commodité des bibliographes.

2. Il s'agit probablement du manuscrit de l'article de George Sand sur Maurice de Guérin (*RDM*, 15 mai 1840), qui se trouve en effet dans la collection Eynard.

3. Sainte-Beuve, qui travaillait alors au deuxième volume de *Port-Royal*, usait volontiers de ce prétexte pour n'être pas dérangé (cf. J. Bonnerot, *Correspondance générale de Sainte-Beuve*, Paris, Stock, 1938, III, 276, 290). Le stratagème d'ailleurs réussissait rarement, et lui valait force brouilleries.

4. Ce billet de George Sand prend sa place entre les deux lettres suivantes de Sainte-Beuve à Mme Juste Olivier: le 3 août [1840], il écrivait: "... [George Sand] ne se conduit pas trop bien. Et, afin de rester au mieux avec elle, je ne la vois plus du tout." (*ibid.*, III, 332). Puis, le 27 décembre 1840: "... J'ai revu George Sand, qui m'a fort parlé de [Mickiewicz] et un peu de vous." (*ibid.*, III, 411).

Monsieur de Saintebeuve
rue du Mont Parnasse
N° 1 (ter)

Date du cachet postal: "16 décembre 1840."

II

Royer-Collard à Sainte-Beuve

Je vous remercie, Monsieur, du beau présent que vous m'avez fait. Port-Royal me touche, et je suis reconnaissant du soin que vous avez pris de le révéler à un monde qui n'a plus d'yeux pour voir, ni oreilles pour entendre.⁵ J'ai pu seulement jusqu'ici relire le discours préliminaire et parcourir les sommaires de la table des matières; le temps me manque en ce moment pour me livrer sans distraction à une lecture où je me promets autant de plaisir sérieux que de bonne et solide instruction. Vous m'apprendrez ce que je ne sais pas bien; vous me rendrez ce que j'ai oublié. J'espère causer quelque jour avec vous de ce grand travail. Agréiez, Monsieur, s'il vous plaît, l'assurance de mon estime bien distinguée.

Royer Collard

19 avril 1840

III

Molé⁶ à Sainte-Beuve

Je m'empresse d'envoyer à Monsieur de Sainte-Beuve l'éloge de Monsieur de Quelen en le priant de vouloir bien recourir à cet exemplaire s'il avait l'intention d'en citer quelque phrase.—la revue de Paris en citant de mémoire ou d'après les journaux m'a fait écrire comme j'espère que je n'écris pas.

je renouvelle à Monsieur de Sainte-Beuve l'expression de tous les sentiments que je lui ai voués.

Molé

8 janvier [1841].

5. Le premier volume de *Port-Royal* avait paru quelques jours plus tôt, le 7 avril 1840. "Ce livre réussit fort ici et surpasse mes désirs. M. Royer-Collard, le patron de la chose, a donné le ton en en parlant tout haut, et nos belles dames et nos beaux messieurs jasant à ravir depuis huit jours de la Mère Angélique" (Sainte-Beuve à Olivier, 28 avril 1840. *ibid.*, III, 275). Voyez aussi les *Mémoires de Barante* (Paris, Calman-Lévy, 1897), VI, 445: "... M. Royer-Collard pardonne tout à Sainte-Beuve en faveur de la résurrection et de l'évocation de ces grandes ombres."

6. Louis-Matthieu, comte Molé (1781-1855), fut élu à l'Académie française le 20 février 1840, en remplacement de Mgr. de Quelen (1778-1839), archevêque de Paris. Il passa au 1^{er} tour, par 30 voix, le même jour que Victor Hugo (qui passa au 4^e tour, avec 15 voix). Molé avait servi successivement Napoléon 1^{er}, la branche aînée et la branche cadette et s'était surtout signalé par la plus basse courtoisie jusqu'en 1830. Il fut reçu le 30 décembre 1840.

Sainte-Beuve préparait un article, "M. le comte Molé," qui parut le 15 janvier 1841 dans la RDM (*Portraits Contemporains*, III, 190-210).

IV

Mme Desbordes-Valmore à [Sainte-Beuve?]⁷

Fermez vos mains toujours prêtes à s'ouvrir. Le pauvre enfant est parti. J'ai vendu mon Ame pour quelques jours, afin de le sauver de son enfer à lui. Le cœur manque à sa famille, j'espère qu'il en aura pour eux tous; et que Dieu Bénira Les secours dont vous avez honoré son Abaissement. Son parti est courageusement pris; gardez pour d'autres infortunes le *prix* de vos paroles d'or. je vous aime assurément beaucoup d'être un profond penseur et Poète, mais que dire du sentiment que je vous porte pour vos entraînements de charité! et du Bonheur caché de m'y rencontrer votre sœur!

Mme Valmore.

V

Mme Desbordes-Valmore à [Mme François Buloz]⁸

ma destinée est en ce moment bien près du cœur de Monsieur Buloz, et il est père! je dois à son bon accueil et au votre le seul rayon vivant qui me soutienne—Lui devoir le retour de mon mari serait providentiel, si l'honnête homme reste au pouvoir dans la personne de monsieur Buloz⁹—Je mets cet espoir sur vos genoux de mère, et j'attends!

Si Monsieur Buloz veut, comme il le doit, des renseignements étendus sur Valmore, qu'il ait la bonté d'en appeler à Singier,¹⁰ ancien directeur de Lyon, dont mon mari a été neuf ans le pensionnaire, et l'ami toujours. Le beau-père de Nourrit,¹¹ Duverger,¹² correspondant des théâtres, peut aussi donner des relations étendues sur les qualités dont

7. Sainte-Beuve, qui n'eut jamais beaucoup plus que le strict nécessaire jusqu'en 1860, était très charitable. Il y a peut-être un rapprochement à faire entre "le pauvre enfant" dont il est question dans cette lettre et l'enfant dans la misère qui est mentionné par Jean Bonnerot, *op. cit.*, III, 206. Pour les relations de Sainte-Beuve avec Mme Desbordes-Valmore, voyez *ibid.*, III, 202.

8. L'année 1847 marqua pour Marceline et son mari le début d'une affreuse crise de misère qui ne se termina qu'en décembre 1854, quand Valmore obtint enfin une place de sous-bibliothécaire à 1300 francs.

9. François Buloz devint Commissaire royal de la Comédie-Française en octobre 1838, en remplacement du baron Taylor; il fut nommé un peu plus tard directeur, puis administrateur, et remplit ces fonctions jusqu'en février 1848. Valmore était alors à Bruxelles, au Théâtre de la Monnaie, qui fit faillite quelques mois plus tard.

10. Pierre-Alexis Singier: "Où et quand avait-il été comédien? Il n'en figure pas moins à ce titre comme un des fondateurs de la Société des artistes dont il fut l'administrateur avisé jusqu'à sa mort (Rapport, 1848). Singier avait dirigé les théâtres de Lyon." Henry Lyonnet, *Dictionnaire des Comédiens Français*, Bibliothèque de la Revue universelle internationale illustrée, Genève, 1933.

11. Probablement Adolphe Nourrit (1802-1839), célèbre chanteur dramatique, premier ténor de l'Opéra.

12. Un Duverger, "inspecteur des Menus-Plaisirs du Roi," est mentionné par Jacques Boulenger, *Marceline Desbordes-Valmore* (Paris, Plon, 1926), p. 142.

Valmore serait heureux de consacrer l'emploi à Monsieur Buloz.

Pour moi, Madame, qui vous ai vue et comprise, j'ose croire que mes tendres anxiétés sont dignes de vous toucher, et je vous les envoie avec mes vœux profonds pour l'adoucissement de vos saintes douleurs.

Marceline Valmore.

Messieurs Liadière, Edmond Blanc,¹³ Vitet¹⁴ et de Barante,¹⁵ sont acquis à Monsieur Buloz dans son bon vouloir pour Valmore.—

10 janvier 1847.

VI

Michelet à [Jean-Gabriel Eynard].

M. Michelet présente à Monsieur Eynard l'hommage de sa vénération. Il recommande à sa bienveillance et à celle de ses amis les œuvres d'Edgar Quinet, ce si grand écrivain qui vient de se montrer zélé pour l'extension du protestantisme.

deux volumes ont paru.¹⁶

Paris 1 mai 1847.

VII

Stendhal à Lysimaque Tavernier¹⁷

Ce Vendredi

Monsieur

Je vous recommande Monsieur le Colonel Caetani¹⁸ mon ami intime qui part pour Marseille par le Bateau à vapeur. M. C[aeta]ni prendra une seconde place. Tachez de lui faire obtenir tous les rabais possibles; conduisez-le chez M. le Directeur.

Présentez M. C. à Mr Bucci¹⁹ et à Mr Manzi.²⁰
j'ai l'honneur
H Beyle

13. Pierre Liadières (1792-1858) et Adolphe-Edmond Blanc (1799-1850) étaient alors députés.

14. Ludovic Vitet (1802-1873) était alors député et vice-président du Conseil d'Etat.

15. Prosper de Barante (1782-1866), historien et homme d'Etat.

16. Probablement *Allemagne et Italie et Philosophie et poésie*, Paris, Desforges, 1846.

17. Lysimaque Tavernier, chancelier du consulat de France à Civita-Vecchia.

18. Don Michele Caetani, à qui Balzac dédia les *Parents pauvres*.

19. Donato Bucci était un marchand d'antiquités de Civita-Vecchia. C'est lui qui s'entretint lorsque Stendhal projeta d'épouser Melle Vidau, en 1835. C. Stryenski, dans les *Soirées du Stendhal Club* (Paris, Mercure de France, 1905), a publié une longue lettre de Bucci concernant Lysimaque Tavernier.

20. Cf. *Correspondance de Stendhal*, publiée par Paupe et Chéramy (Paris, Bosse, 1908), III, 111, 140. Manzi et Bucci s'intéressaient l'un et l'autre à faire des fouilles pour retrouver des antiquités étrusques.

Voici le paquet oublié chez M. De la [illisible]. Faites partir les Etats de Navigation. Corrigez le mot *Auls*.

Signor Lisimaco
Piazza d'Arme.

A ces lettres inédites, nous joignons la lettre suivante de Lamennais que nous avons relevée dans l'*Helvétie* (journal de Porrentruy qui parut de 1833 à 1842) où elle risquerait bien de rester définitivement enterrée.

Elle se trouve dans le numéro du 22 mai 1835. Violamment anticléricale (notules de ce numéro: "La Suisse a vingt fois plus de couvents que l'Autriche, proportionnellement. . . La fortune du couvent de Rheinau est évaluée à 970.297 florins . . ."), ce journal était interdit dans le catholique canton du Valais. Le rédacteur en chef, jusqu'au numéro du 22 avril 1836, fut Henri-Eusèbe Gaullieur (1808-1859), qui démissionna pour prendre alors avec Druey la direction du *Nouvelliste Vaudois* de Lausanne. Après son départ, l'*Helvétie* perdit tout caractère accusé, et disparut d'ailleurs après quelques années. Sous la direction de Gaullieur, au contraire, on trouve des feuilletons littéraires remarquables dans presque chaque numéro, offrant des morceaux d'Alfred de Vigny (*Servitude et Grandeur Militaires*), de Lamartine (fragments du *Voyage en Orient*), de Marmier, de De Latouche, de Dumas, de Charles Nodier.

La lettre de Lamennais, assez probablement adressée à Gaullieur, est précédée de ces quelques lignes:

Nous avons sous les yeux une lettre de M. de Lamennais, qui sera lue sans doute avec empressement, comme tout ce qui vient de cet homme extraordinaire. C'est ce qui nous engage à publier cette lettre inédite, que nous eussions gardée dans nos cartons si elle provenait de toute autre source.

VIII

Lamennais à [Henri-Eusèbe Gaullieur?]

La Chênaie, le 12 avril 1835.

Oui, mon cher monsieur, j'ai été heureux de vous revoir et plus heureux encore de trouver en vous un frère de plus; en ces temps de lâcheté, d'égoïsme et de corruption, on éprouve une joie bien vive, lorsque, rencontrant un de ces hommes qu'anime le saint amour de l'humanité, on sent naître en soi comme une espérance plus prochaine d'un meilleur avenir. Je crois de toutes les forces de mon âme à cet avenir qui se prépare et qui s'accomplira malgré la résistance active des

uns et la honteuse apathie des autres; je crois au triomphe *peu éloigné* de la liberté et de la justice, *au triomphe des peuples* contre lesquels les pouvoirs anciens et nouveaux ont formé depuis peu dans toute l'Europe une ligue détestable. La seule chose presque qui retarde les grands et décisifs événements que les nations souffrantes appellent de leurs vœux, c'est le souvenir des anciens excès commis au nom de la liberté et la crainte de les voir renaître. Les souverains sont fort habiles à exploiter cette crainte, ils donnent, et avec trop de succès, pour appui à leur tyrannie la peur d'une autre tyrannie; mais, quand les patriotes seront parvenus à faire comprendre aux masses qu'éloignés de tout despotisme ils veulent sincèrement l'ordre et la conservation de tous les droits réels, la cause qu'ils défendent aura vaincu, et le monde saluera le commencement d'une ère nouvelle.

Recevez, mon cher monsieur, l'assurance de ma sympathie et de mon dévouement affectueux.

F. de la Mennais.

ANDRÉ DELATTRE

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ALPHONSE DAUDET AND ANSELME MATHIEU: SOME UNEDITED LETTERS

OF THE SEVERAL FRIENDSHIPS which Alphonse Daudet made among the *Félibres* in his youth and which he cherished throughout life, that of Anselme Mathieu holds a place of particular noteworthiness, illustrating as it does Daudet's very real generosity and thoughtfulness towards a companion of less fortunate circumstances. Direct proof of Daudet's active and effective interest in the Provençal author of *La Farandoule* appears in five hitherto unpublished letters, in the collections of the Bibliothèque Calvet in Avignon.

Mathieu, often called the Catullus of the *Félibres* because of his delightful poems of love and joy of living, had been born and brought up on a vineyard in Châteauneuf-du-Pape. Here, upon occasion, he entertained the *Félibre* group by the shores of the Rhône. At one such gathering Daudet had been introduced to this "*Félibre* of the Kisses," as he commonly signed himself, by the great leader of the movement, Mistral. This meeting, in all likelihood, took place in 1860 when Daudet, recently made secretary to the celebrated Count de Morny, returned to his native Provence to inform friends and family of his excellent position.

A second opportunity for renewing acquaintance came late in November of the following year, while Daudet was spending a fortnight in and about Maillane, Mistral's native town where his young literary friends so frequently congregated. During this stay, Daudet and Mathieu read their poems for mutual criticism and discussed the new literary school which was advancing so well under the direction of the author of *Mireille*. Though Daudet was then seriously ill with tuberculosis and on his way to Algeria "to find a lung" as another *Félibre* quaintly expressed it,¹ he nevertheless took time to make a visit to Mathieu's vineyards. Apparently not only friendship but also a real desire to help dispose of the produce of the winery explain Daudet's visit as the following informal letter suggests. No doubt Mathieu, never a man of means, had solicited his friend's aid in securing purchasers of his wine, produced in one of the best localities of France.

1. Théodore Aubanel in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1861, quoted by L. E. Legré, *Le Poète T. Aubanel*.

Paris 10 juin 1862

Mon cher Mathieu,

Voulez-vous envoyer à Monsieur Demètre, 21 Rue des bons enfants à Paris
ques échantillons de vos vins, accompagnés d'une lettre précise sur vos prix,
la qualité du vin, la quantité que vous pouvez livrer.

—Votre affaire pourra, je crois marcher.

—Embrassez, je v/s prie votre femme pour moi.

—Mes amitiés aux frères, belles sœurs et à l'Excellente maman Mathieu.

Votre ami
Alph. Daudet

à la Présidence du Corps Législatif.²

It is quite possible that this vineyard of Mathieu gave to Daudet, six years later, the setting for one of his most celebrated stories. In the opening pages of "La Mule du Pape" he mentions: "une petite vigne qu'il [le Pape] avait plantée lui-même, à trois lieues d'Avignon, dans les myrtes de Château-Neuf . . ." and "ce bon vin, couleur de rubis, qui s'est appelé depuis le Château Neuf des Papes,—qu'il dégustait par petits coups, en regardant sa vigne d'un air attendri. . . ." Was not Daudet, in writing these lines, reminded of his own experiences at the Mathieu vineyard; did he not recall its owner's pride as he proffered him a glass of his finest vintage?

In the last chapter of his *Mes Origines: mémoires et récits*, Mistral has given a lively account of the adventures which Daudet enjoyed with Mathieu in succeeding visits to the south. They liked to wander through the thickets of the Ile de la Barthelasse nestling in the Rhône at Avignon, where they lay in the warm sunshine and recited their latest verses. Their excursions included the Pont du Gard, where Daudet, though no swimmer, jumped from a high spot on the road into the Gardon below, to see, as he explained, just how deep it was. They frequently met at the Place des Hommes in Arles, then passed on to the Lice to eye the lovely women. More than once they ended their evenings drinking at a favorite tavern or singing at a boatsmen's *rendez-vous*, the Counènc on the Pont de Trinquetaille.

As the years passed and wealth as well as popularity came, the author of *Les Lettres de mon moulin* did not forget his less fortunate friend. Even after thirty years, when invalidated by a serious malady, Daudet came to Mathieu's aid. The latter, who had gained little financial benefit from *La Farandoulo*, and certainly less for his publishings in *L'Armana provençau*, was by this time in serious need. Daudet wrote to the

2. Bibliothèque Calvet, Avignon, cote 5135, #49.

minister of Public Instruction, Armand Fallières, for a modest pension. His letter to Mathieu, displaying a warm cordiality, clearly shows his wholehearted concern for his friend in want.

3 avenue de l'Observatoire
[sans date]

Mon cher Anselme,

Mistral, qui t'aime comme tu sais me parlait de toi l'autre jour et me disait tes ennuis d'argent. Là-dessus j'ai écrit au ministère de l'inst. Publique et j'ai demandé qu'on vînt en aide au poète Anselme Mathieu. Le ministre m'a fait répondre qu'on allait t'envoyer 300 francs; tu dois être avisé à l'heure qu'il est. L'an prochain je ferai encore une demande qui sera sans doute écoutée encore. Qui mieux que toi, gentil poète mérite ces subsides destinés aux artistes dans le pétrin?

Adieu—Accuse réception au ministère, Ces messieurs m'écrivent que tu pourras toucher tes 300 francs dans douze jours. Au fait, voici la lettre que m'écrit M. Roujon, secrétaire du ministre M. Fallières.

Je t'embrasse toi et les tiens
Alphonse Daudet.

Roujon's letter, which follows, contains further proof of Daudet's desire that the request be brought to fruition. For the designing author had adroitly sent one of his best known works in order to persuade all the more Fallières' secretary.

Cab. du Ministère de l'instruction publique.

2 janv. [1890]³

Cher Monsieur

J'ai le plaisir de vous annoncer que M. Fallières a accordé immédiatement à M^r Anselme Mathieu une allocation extraordinaire de 300 f. Nous avisons M. Mathieu qui pourra toucher la somme dans une douzaine de jours environ. En ce qui me concerne, je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien j'ai été heureux de pouvoir obliger un poète—surtout un poète recommandé par vous.

Bien tout à vous
M. Roujon.

Permettez-moi de vous remercier d'avoir bien voulu m'envoyer le triste et poignant roman de *Sapho*. Vous féliciter, j'ose à peine le faire. Je puis au moins vous faire hommage de toute mon admiration.

M. Roujon.

Apparently, however, the funds were slow in arriving, for ten months later Daudet was still resolutely on the track of the pension.

3. Though this letter is numbered #52, the next to the last in the series, it must be the second, from internal evidence. Apparently the cataloguer, unable to determine the year date of this letter and the succeeding one, placed them both at the end of the series, after those bearing the date in full.

Mon cher ami

C'est fait notre brave felibre a ses 300f.

10 8bre [1890]⁴

A vous de tout cœur

M. Roujon.

At the bottom of Roujon's note is another cheerful word from Daudet:

Voici ce que je reçois à l'instant J'ignore si l'argent est en route; mais il doit l'être. Ecris un mot à Roujon cabinet du ministre et sois tranquille. Nous en aurons autant l'an prochain et les autres.

Ton vieil ami

Alph. Daudet.

True to his word and not content with securing the pension for this first year only, Daudet took it upon himself to write an annual note to the minister lest his friend be forgotten in the web of official formality. Two additional letters from the ministry, with encouraging notes jotted on their margins in Daudet's hand,—one in Mathieu's native tongue—attest to his perseverance and constancy.

Cabinet du Ministère de l'instruction publique et des Beaux Arts.

24 janvier 1891⁵

Mon cher Maître,

Notre Anselme Mathieu va recevoir avis de ses 300 fr. Vous savez combien j'ai de plaisir à vous être agréable. Tout à vous de cœur.

M. Roujon.

And above this:

Matieu

Espero encoro sou pau vaqui ton bihet qu'a récampé dou monestieri

Anfos Daudet⁶

A year later the same unswerving tenacity of purpose was demonstrated:

27 janvier 1892⁷

Mon cher ami,

Rassurez-vous, Notre ami Anselme Mathieu va toucher comme d'habitude sa petite rente annuelle de 300 fr.

A vous de cœur

M. Roujon.

which was followed by the usual personal note:

4. #53 in the series.

5. #50.

6. Daudet's hesitant Provençal may be interpreted as follows: "Mathieu, wait a while longer, here is your note which I have secured from the ministry. Alphonse Daudet."

7. #51.

Roujon étant nommé Directeur des Beaux Arts j'avais eu peur, mais ce petit mot me rassure et je l'envoie. Si d'ici un mois tu n'as pas ton argent, avise m'en.
ton

Alph. Daudet.

This modest but sincere sheaf of letters and notes were carefully treasured by Anselme Mathieu until his death three years later when they were found among his possessions. Their preservation is ample evidence of his deep gratitude to Daudet for his lasting attention to the *Félibre's* indigent condition.

A. R. FAVREAU

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SOME BAROQUE ASPECTS OF TIRSO DE MOLINA

THE BAROQUE has been recognized as a general trend of European literature that became perceptible toward the end of the sixteenth century and reached full development during the seventeenth. Considering, for a moment, its complication of detail, it is possible to say that: (1) new literary genres, unknown to both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, begin to emerge in this period; and that (2) besides the new literary genres themselves, many stylistic devices appear within them, which correspond to the new type of literature. Accordingly, it may be affirmed that the framework is baroque and the style is also baroque. But stylistic feature is, as it always must be, an essential part of the framework and structure itself. All of this is necessary to make the literary genre what it is. Thus, baroque literature is the expression, through literary forms, of the special shape of European life from the end of the sixteenth century forward. It is possible to discuss Baroque in a general way, since, as an historical concept, it has several common features that fit different European literatures, Germanic as well as Romanic. Some speak, for example, of the baroque character of Shakespeare's drama. It is evident, however, that in talking about general traits of the baroque period in European literature we disregard the peculiar and irreducible artistic originality of a given author; and we neglect, likewise, the artistic values of a particular author, because general artistic features are applicable both to great and mediocre writers.

General aspects of the problem under discussion here must, however, be kept in mind. Perhaps the primary one is that baroque literary genres and styles, and the crisis experienced by European man, are one and the same thing. Many great things befell Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. First of all, religion, that is, man's feeling about his own destiny, split in different directions. Speaking concisely, it may be said that the three main directions were:

1. The Renaissance belief that man was perfectly autonomous and able to rule himself and everything pertaining to human endeavor. An inevitable concomitant of this conviction was a weakening of belief in a providential God.
2. Traditional Catholic doctrine of the unbreakable ties binding man to a transcendent Thought and Will.
3. The Reformation, with its belief that human life and the soul's salvation rest upon the autonomous behavior of man. Protestantism, therefore, becomes a crossing point for traditional medieval transcend-

ence and the new sense of human immanence developed by the Renaissance. Man, to some extent, comes to be the interpreter of the divine Meaning as revealed by the word of God. From one point of view it might be said that a consequence of this attitude toward destiny was a diminution in the conflict between individual human will and divine Plan, with anguish of soul lessening as confidence in salvation increased. The scales thus would weigh heavier on the human side than on the divine, and religion become more humanized socially and less affected by the anguished dialogue between the individual and God.

Obviously there is no desire here to say that there were not many points of contact between the main directions named. Clear-cut distinctions would be mere abstractions. Nevertheless, history shows that the Catholic side of Europe was most affected by the crucial conflict of the individual conscience and divine transcendence. Especially so since Catholicism, after the Council of Trent, strengthened all the terms of its peculiar problems.

At the same time that the Roman Church magnified its institutional character and became more and more a divinized social force, other human institutions likewise increased their strength and their scope. Monarchy is one example. Literature, fine arts, science, virtually everything, came under the many-domed Church, to be regimented by the supreme will of both Church and State. Revolution was checked. But the trouble was that the sixteenth-century man was no longer the man of the Middle Ages. He had learned too much about himself and the rest of nature to be unaware of his own private consciousness. Consequently, this post-Tridentine period carried within itself the germs of innumerable conflicts.¹ In the Catholic countries especially, the consciousness of the individual was subjected to a double process. Either the individual gave himself into the hands of the supreme social institutions, Religion and State, or he tried to protect and develop his own individuality in one way or another. Struggle thus resulted. And even within the same individual consciousness the split was possible, because one part of the intimate self was turned toward itself and the other part was leaning toward the outer social macrocosm.

Literature attempts to express the wholeness of human life, and it is clear that life at the end of the sixteenth century was different from what it was in the early part of the century and from what it had been in the Middle Ages. Because it had acquired a different outline, different content, and consequently different problems. The epic was the outstanding literary genre of the Middle Ages. But in the Renaissance the

1. For a fuller treatment of this, see Julius Rütsch, *Das dramatische Ich im deutschen Barock-Theater* (Wege zur Dichtung, Band xii), Leipzig, 1932.

link between heroes and their social transcendence was broken, as even a superficial comparison of *Orlando Furioso* with *Roland* or the *Poema del Cid* clearly shows. Now in the Baroque period, Church and State tried to superimpose a medieval dome on people who had experienced Renaissance liberation. The Middle Ages had grandiose things because the collective will and consciousness was full of God's grandeur. The Baroque period made things grandiose to make people think that the things that were grandiose were great.² Browning expressed it very well in commenting on the paintings of Rubens: "Everything is more grandiose than life."³ Church and State became a magnificent spectacle. As a tangible example, the Escorial is symbolic of the age.

But the bibliography for the foregoing is already abundant. The scope of this study must be limited to an examination of one who has not been mentioned as an outstanding representative of the baroque style, largely, perhaps, because he writes more intelligibly than Calderón. Tirso de Molina is a baroque writer because the dramatic problem of his plays consists of principal conflicting attitudes: (1) between individuals and their environment; and (2) between the individual and himself. Lope de Vega's drama shows the first conflict. Lope created the *comedia* by setting up an opposition between life and a higher principle. His protagonists, for the most part, are still spiritually integrated and psychologically sound. But in Tirso they are disintegrated. Man is not set against a higher principle but against the illusion, mockery, or emptiness of high human principles and noble emotions. Arching over the *persona*, or self, is the *personaje*, that is, the rôle which the individual plays or must play in his own peculiar situation. Then, outside the circle of "personage," lie the spheres of social environment and social principle, respectively. In Tirso, these latter often constitute an adversary for the *persona-personaje*. The titles themselves indicate the relationships: *El vergonzoso en palacio*, *La celosa de sí misma*, *Cautela contra cautela*, *Celos con celos se curan*, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (this last title is elliptical, since it names only the *personaje*, the fictitious Don Gil, under whose guise the heroine and several of the other characters operate). It will be seen that Tirso thus personalizes the environment, institution, principle, or emotion against which the dramatic person is contending. The whole life situation in Tirso's theater is thus a two-factor equation raised to a certain power. All of this implies most significant meanings: man a living entity in a very present macrocosm endowed with life because man, by the very fact that he exists, must vitally be concerned with it. Clearly, this

2. The word *grandioso* was coined in Spain at this time. See Menéndez Pidal, "El lenguaje del siglo xvi," in *Los romances de América y otros estudios*, Buenos Aires, 1939, p. 155.

3. Quoted in *Oxford English Dictionary*, "grandiose."

Falsa persona?

is a total reality involving the world present in any given time, in sharp contrast to the world of the Greek drama or that of the medieval epic, for example, in which the social principles of religion, lives of divinities, social order, etc. are outside the worldly spheres of time and space.⁴

Not only the "person" but also his circumstances find expression in the poetic form itself. Mireno, the *persona* contending against the social environment of the palace, is humble, timid, and honest, and speaks in octosyllabic verse:

*Considero algunos ratos
que los cielos, que pudieron
hacerme noble, y me hicieron
un pastor, fueron ingratos;
y que pues con tal bajeza
me acobardo y avergüenzo,
puedo poco, pues no venzo
mi misma naturaleza.*

(*El vergonzoso en palacio*, I, v.)

But the Duke of Averó, and the others of high birth, represent the *palacio*, synonymous here with falsehood and sophisticated deceit, and speak in hendecasyllables:

Duke: *De industria a esta espesura retirado
vengo de mis moneros, que siguiendo
un jabalí lijero, nos han dado
el lugar que pedís; aunque no entiendo
con qué intención, confuso y alterado,
cuando en mis bosques festejar pretendo
vuestra venida, conde Don Duarte,
dejáis la caza por hablarme aparte.*

(I, i.)

Honor is often the social principle accompanying the "person":

Ruy Lorenzo: *Consoladme vos a mí,
pues es más lo que perdí.*

Lauro: *¿Más que un hijo habéis perdido?*

Ruy: *El honor ¿no es preferido
a la vida y hijos?*

Lauro: *Sí.*

Ruy: *Pues si no tengo esperanza
de dar a mi honor remedio,*

4. The writer owes much of his orientation in these matters to the inspiration and guidance gained through active membership in a Princeton University group pursuing higher Spanish studies under the personal direction of Professor Américo Castro.

más pierdo.

(El vergonzoso en palacio, III, i.)

Que el honor y la mujer

son malos en opiniones.

(El burlador de sevilla, III, ii.)

What is the foreground of reality for Tirso's background of emptiness? Like Lope, he is attracted by *lo puramente humano*, but he reveals the triumph of skepticism over belief, characteristic of his period, in his lack of faith in the great beliefs of love, honor, heroism, etc. He treats life ironically, although without turning it into tragedy, as Calderón does. Tirso is a skeptic in regard to love. He makes a sensual game of it, because love has lost its validity as a higher sentiment and emotion. Sensualism is the residual fact in his plays. When love must go beyond sensation into sentiment it becomes nebulous. Tirso de Molina's dramatic production shows a contrast between real feelings, sentiments, and emotions, and the author's negation of them as revealed through *engaños*, *enredos*, and artificial fabrications of various sorts. He makes a game of the higher virtues and creates a world of appearances. To Tirso, the theater is the best means of giving that illusion of life which the *comedia*, as established by Lope, affords. But in his plays, love and the other great beliefs are found emptied of those previous qualities bestowed by the lyric poetry of the Renaissance. Conscious of their emptiness, he fills them out with materialism and sensualism. It must be understood, however, that the erotic current runs strong in his drama. It would be a mistake to assume that because he divests it of its former frippery and removes its halo he has deprived it of its force. The amorous desires of his protagonists are most earnest, even though we do observe that they have become elemental.

Doña Juana: *Un Adonis bello vi,
que a mil Venus daba amores,
y a mil Martes celos mil.
Díome un vuelco el corazón,
porque amor es alguacil
de las almas, y temblé
como a la justicia vi.*

.....
*Un guante me llevó en prendas
del alma, y si he de decir
la verdad, dentro del guante,
el alma que le ofrecí.*

.....
Bebió el alma por los ojos,

*sin poderse resistir
el veneno que brindaba
su talle airoso y gentil.*

*Entré en casa enajenada.
Si amaste, juzga por tí
en desvelos principiantes
qué tal llegué. No dormí,
no sosegué; parecióme
que olvidado de salir
el sol, ya se desdeñaba
de dorar nuestro cenit.
Levantéme con ojeras,
desojada por abrir
un balcón, de donde luego
mi adorado ingrato vi.*

(*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, I, i.)

In the absence of the Neoplatonic conception of idealized love in his plays, Tirso takes refuge in sensuality. Sensual appetites and sensations are a reality with him; he is not a skeptic in this regard.⁵ The documentation for this major trait is readily accessible:

Doña Juana describes her first meeting with Don Martín, in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*:

Tropecé . . .

*Llegó, descalzado el guante,
una mano de marfil
a tenerme de su mano . . .
¡Qué bien me tuvo! ¡ay de mí!*⁶

(I, i.)

5. Américo Castro called attention to Tirso's keen receptivity of such perceptions, (Prologue to the *Clásicos Castellanos* edition of *El vergonzoso en palacio* and *El burlador de Sevilla*, Madrid, 1932, p. xiii), pointing out, as one example, the poet's delight at the whiteness of a feminine breast: "pellas de nieve si no abrasaran" (*Cigarrales de Toledo*, "Introducción").

6. Sensuality in the description of a lady's hand may be observed in this passage from *La celosa de sí misma*:

Don Melchor: *Ventura, palabras deja
aplicadas a tu humor,
y en esa mano te queda,
que es la que he visto no más.
¡Ay qué mano! ¡qué belleza!
¡Qué blanca! ¡qué donaire!
¡Qué hoyuelos! ¡qué tez, qué venas!
¡Ay qué dedos tan hermosos!*

(I, iii.)

Also see Américo Castro's comments on the symbolism implicit here ("El Don Juan de Tirso y el de Molière," *Hommage à Ernest Martinenche*, Paris, s. d.).

From *El vergonzoso en palacio*:

Doña Serafina: *Conde, ¿qué es de Don Dionís,
mi esposo?*

Don Antonio: *Yo os he engañado:
En su nombre gocé anoche
la belleza y bien más alto
que tiene el amor.*

(III, xxx.)

And from the same play the bold passage involving a pun on *toca-tocar*:

*Dicen que suele ser potro la cama
donde hace confesar al más discreto
una mujer que da a la lengua y boca,
tormento, no de cuerda, mas de toca.*

(I, iii.)

On the foundation of sensuality and materialism Tirso builds his dramatic edifice, with its intricate detail of deception, empty values, brilliant trickery, and illusion. Doña Juana declares in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*:

*Ya soy hombre, ya mujer,
ya Don Gil, ya Doña Elvira;
mas si amo, ¿qué no seré?*

(II, v.)

Noble sentiments and principles tend to become illusory because, for one reason, people are pitted against illusion:

Don Martín: *¿Hay confusión semejante?
¡Que este Don Gil me persiga
invisible cada instante,
y que, por más que le siga,
nunca le encuentre delante!*

(*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, II, xix.)

Quintana: *Retrato eres del engaño.*

Doña Juana: *Y mi remedio seré.*

(*ibid.*, II, i.)

Doña Juana: *Que he de perseguir, si puedo,
Quintana, a mi engañador
con uno y con otro entredo,
hasta que cure su amor
con mi industria o con su miedo.*

(*ibid.*, III, iv.)

The words *engaño* and *enredo* occur repeatedly and in vital function in Tirso's plays, and a great number of examples were gathered together in making the present study. *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* is, of course, a complicated game from start to finish, but abundant illustration for this whole aspect is found in *El vergonzoso en palacio*, *La celosa de sí misma*, *Esto sí que es negociar*, and others. The relationship of the individual to his social rôle and to social environment and principles has been discussed above. In *El Vergonzoso en palacio*, in which the *palacio* represents the social situation of falsehood and deceit, the first line reads:

Duque: *De industria a esta espesura retirado*
etc.

The play begins with a pretext, a trick, and the architecture of the author is seen from the very beginning: a split in conception and plan. The retirement of the Duke is not an honest one, but a ruse. The splitting off of falsity from truth develops to a high degree, and Don Antonio exclaims, toward the end of the play:

¡Hay tal enredo!

· · · · ·
Prima, todo esto es engaño.
(III, xv.)

A travesty of gentleman's honor is found in Don Martín's refusal to fight a duel with Don Juan, in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*. Don Juan, jealous and resentful of Don Martín's attentions to Doña Inés, has sought his rival out and challenged him. Noteworthy is Don Martín's cool substitution of the purely practical for the appeal to honor, in refusing to fight.

Don Martín: *¿Doña Inés dice que quiere*
a su padre obedecer,
y mi esposa admite ser?

Don Juan: *A su inclinación prefiere*
la caduca voluntad
de su padre.

Don Martín: *Y por ventura*
perder esa coyuntura
¿no sería necedad?
Si con lo que yo procuro
salgo, ¿no es torpe imprudencia
el poner en contingencia
lo que ya tengo seguro?

*¡Muy bueno fuera, por Dios,
que después de reducida,
si yo no os quito la vida,
me la quitádes vos,
perdiendo mujer tan bella,
y que después de adquirido
el nombre de su marido,
os la dejase doncella!
No señor: permitid vos
que logre de Doña Inés
la belleza, y de allí a un mes
podremos reñir los dos.*

Don Juan: *O hacéis de mí poco caso,
o tenéis poco valor;
pero a vuestro necio amor
sabré yo atajar el paso
en parte donde no tema
el favor que aquí os provoca. (Vase)*

Don Martín: *Para su cólera loca
no ha sido mala mi flema.*
(II, viii and ix.)

The spirit of the foregoing passage finds a parallel in these lines from *El vergonzoso en palacio*:

Doña Juana: *Con risa el medio que has buscado advierto.*

*La traza es extremada, aunque indecente,
primo, a su calidad.*

Don Antonio: *Cualquiera estado
es noble con amor: no esté yo ausente,
que con cualquiera oficio estaré honrado.*
(II, vii.)

And in these, from the same play:

Doña Serafina: *¿Qué crueldad
has visto en mí?*

Doña Juana: *No tener
a nadie amor.*

Doña Serafina: *¿Puede ser
el no tener voluntad
a ninguno, crueldad? di.*

Dofia Juana: *¿Pues no?*

Dofia Serafina: *¿Y será justa cosa,
por ser para otros piadosa,
ser yo cruel para mí?*

Pintor: *Par diez, que ella dice bien.*

Don Antonio: *¡Pobre del que tal sentencia
está escuchando!⁷*

(II, xiv.)

Thus does the seventeenth-century *comedia*—often considered in easy generalizations to be something of a tableau of frozen attitudes, puzzling intrigues, static or stereotyped thought, and stable emotional concepts—reveal characteristics of incisive thinking and tough-mindedness. The ascendancy, in that century, of skepticism over belief found confirmation in the theater, which was considerably more than a faithful reflection of life, leading the way, as it did, to a re-examination of old validities and the establishment of new artistic possibilities.

Carnival and masquerade imagery is frequent in Tirso's *comedias*, and considerable functional and stylistic use is made of those devices. Such scenes represent, organically and stylistically, a manner of dissimulation, an indirect confession of guile. The result, in such plays, is a carnival within a carnival, since the whole work is an illusory phantasmagoria. *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* offers abundant examples with its series of impersonations:

7. Compare the passage in Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén*, coming one generation after Tirso, in which Diana likewise extracts the vital truth of the situation, from its frame of scholastic syllogism in this case:

*Pues casarse sin amor
es dar causa sin efecto,
¿cómo puede ser esclavo
quien no se ha rendido al dueño?
¿Puede hallar un corazón
más indigno cautiverio
que rendirle su albedrío
quien no manda su deseo?
El obedecerle es deuda,
pues, ¿cómo vivirá un pecho
con una obediencia afuera
y una resistencia adentro?
Con amor y sin amor,
yo, en fin, casarme no puedo:
con amor, porque es peligro;
sin amor, porque no quiero.*

(I, vii.)

Doña Juana (A Quintana): *Disfracéme como ves;
y, fiándome de tí,
a la fortuna me arrojo,
y al puerto pienso salir.*
(I, i.)

But they can be found in quantity throughout the whole repertory. In *El vergonzoso en palacio*:

Doña Juana: *¿Que aquesto de veras haces?
¿Que en verte así no te ofendas?*

Doña Serafina: (Con vestido negro de hombre)
*Fiestas de carnestolendas
todas paran en disfraces.
Deséome entretenir
deste modo; no te asombre
que apetezco el traje de hombre,
ya que no lo puedo ser.*

Doña Juana: *Paréceslo de manera
que me enamoro de tí.*
(II, xiv.)

In *La villana de Vallecas*:

Doña Violante (de labradora): *No hallo disfraz mejor
para remediar mi ultraje,
Aguado, que el labrador.*

Aguado: *Y estáte tan bien el traje,
que por tí lo será amor.*
(I, ix.)

And in *La celosa de sí misma*, both Doña Magdalena and her rival, Doña Angela, masquerade as countesses to win the attentions of Don Melchor.

It is a commonplace to say that women are the center of Tirso's theater. And quite commonly they disguise themselves as men and play the rôle of men. It would seem that this fact, which always provokes comment and always passes unchallenged, should have an explanation. It can be stated rather simply: The striving of a dramatic character in the "respectable" (non-comic) plays of the Golden Age is directed to-

ward a purpose or goal superior in strength to the protagonist.⁸ If this were not so there would be no dramatic problem, certainly no dramatic force. Since the relationship between protagonist and his purpose is one of inequality, the person and the social character he represents must put forth surpassing efforts, which in the seventeenth-century *comedia* is tantamount to saying that the *caballero* must live up to and beyond himself. In Lope this is what happens. And it can happen in Tirso, too. Mireno, reared as a shepherd but noble by birth, sums up the whole necessity for sanguine determination in these words:

Duque: ¿Quién eres?

Mireno: *No soy, seré;
que sólo por pretender
ser más de lo que hay en mí,
menosprecié lo que fui
por lo que tengo de ser.*
(*El vergonzoso en palacio*, I, xvi.)

But in Tirso de Molina many plays reveal the hesitation, lack of faith in self, introspective doubt and disillusionment, on the part of the *caballero*, that makes Tirso the baroque dramatist that he is. In compensation for this, he vests his dramatic interest and initiative in his women characters, who, because they must not distort the behavior of woman in their society, dress as men to carry out their proposals. That they take this line of action is symbolic of the *fracaso caballeresco* of the age.

Study has been made of the dramatic treatment given to the mystery of personality during the Baroque period.⁹ In the Renaissance the Ego was still unified, still locked in the security of laws, principles, and beliefs. But in the Baroque age the Ego becomes split. It begins to reflect itself; and schism develops between consciousness and function, between consciousness and will. Baroque man becomes aware of his Ego as something objective, in regard to which he has to take a position. This whole condition has great emotional consequences for the drama and gives rise to specific manifestations such as narcissisms and "the Ego as actor of itself,"¹⁰ to mention only two which apply here.

The analysis of personality split finds ample illustration in Tirso in

8. At the same time caution must be exercised not to divide, artificially, the individual and his world. As indicated previously, to do so would be to ignore the essential oneness of the individual and the whole *Umwelt*, which is so well exemplified in Spanish drama. The Spanish world, including its perspective, was cracking; but within its soul, not rationally. There was nothing in Spain comparable to the French *libertin*.

9. Notably by Julius Rüttsch, *op. cit.*

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-193.

the direct expression of his words, in the happenings and events of the plays, and in the form itself of the plays. In direct expression the following are examples:

Rogelio: *¿Cómo imita
a Leonisa Margarita
en cara, en habla y acciones?
Alma, averigüaldo vos;
que aunque este milagro ignoro,
la una por la otra adoro,
y estoy dividido en dos.*
(*Esto sí que es negociar*, II, xix.)

Doña Magdalena: *¡Mira mis contradicciones!*

.
*¿Has oído tu jamás
caso como éste en tu vida?*

Quifiones: *Cosa es ni vista, ni oída;
pero tú la ocasión das.
Envidiosa de tí estás,
y niegas lo mismo que eres;
por tí que te olvide quieres;
y sin darte a conocer,
siendo sola una mujer,
te partes en dos mujeres.*
(*La celosa de sí misma*, II, ix.)

Doña Magdalena: *Solo es poderoso, cielos,
en tan proceloso abismo,
partir un corazón mismo
el cuchillo de los celos.¹¹*
(*Ibid.*, III, ix.)

Doña Inés: *Toma pues
un manto.*

Doña Juana: *No, Doña Inés;
que en cuerpo y sin alma voy.*
(*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, III, xv.)

Tarso (Aparte): *Solo un hombre es, vive Dios,
y parece que son dos.*
.
Gente ha habido.

11. In connection with this latter example see A. Castro, "El Don Juan de Tirso y el de Molière." *Hommage à Ernest Martinenche*, Paris, s. d., p. 95.

Mireno: *¿Quién?*

Tarso: *Un Conde
y un Don Dionís de tu nombre
que es uno y parecen dos.*

*O yo este enredo he soñado,
o aquí hay dos Don Dionises.
(El vergonzoso en palacio, III, xxiv.)*

Caramanchel: *Aquí dijo mi amo hermafrodita
que me esperaba;
(Don Gil de las calzas verdes, I, vii.)*

Don Martín (vestido de verde):
*Que nunca falta un Gil que me persiga.
¿Qué delitos me imputan, que parece
que es mi contraria hasta mi misma sombra?
(Ibid., III, viii.)*

The situation of a protagonist competing against himself, or herself; or a character's making of himself a counterpart of the person he or she loves; or a character identifying himself in personality with a rival;—these are examples of narcissism, or its opposite, and may be found variously in the main plot situations of such plays as *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, *La celosa de sí misma*, *Esto sí que es negociar*, *El vergonzoso en palacio*, etc.

*¡Hay más singular
suceso! Castigo ha sido
del cielo, que a su retrato
ame quien a nadie amó.
(Doña Juana, speaking of Doña Serafina,
in El vergonzoso en palacio, III, xiii.)*

The feeling of being a prisoner of one's own self brings out at times a certain morbidity, such as the propensity of the women characters for falling in love with members of their own sex; these disguised as men, of course, and playing their rôles well enough at least to fool their victims. It is important to notice that these latter are attracted by the gentle grace and charm and by the physical delicateness of the pretenders. In *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, both Doña Inés and Doña Clara become infatuated with Don Gil (Doña Juana) almost on sight.

Doña Inés (Aparte a Doña Juana):
*Don Gil de dos mil donaires,
a cada vuelta y mudanza*

*que habéis dado, dió mil vueltas
en vuestro favor el alma.*

¡Muy enamorada estoy!

Doña Clara (Aparte):

*¡Perdida de enamorada
me tiene el Don Gil de perlas!*
(I, viii.)

Doña Inés: *Éste es mi Don Gil querido;
que en el habla delicada
le reconozco.*

(III, xvi.)

Inés will have none of the very masculine Don Martín, the real Don Gil de Albornoz:

Doña Inés: *¿Vos Don Gil?*

Don Martín: *Yo.*

Doña Inés: *¡La bobada!*

Don Pedro: *Por mi vida, que es él mismo.*

Doña Inés: *¿Don Gil tan lleno de barbas?
Es el Don Gil que yo adoro
un Gilito de esmeraldas.*

(I, x.)

An example in Lope de Vega is in his *Anzuelo de Fenisa*. Fenisa, hardened Sicilian courtesan, falls in love with the pretty Spanish girl, Dinarda, who comes to Palermo disguised as a nobleman. The significant thing about these developments, aside from the fact that they attest to a feminization of love in some *comedias* of the baroque period, is that the characters see in their pseudo-lovers not only an object of their desires but also the reflection of their own intimate ideal of beauty.

Illustrations of "one's self as spectacle for one's self" are also readily found. A most obvious example is Doña Serafina's play-acting in *El vergonzoso en palacio* (II, xiv). More subtle cases are those in which the character reveals this trait by his words.

Quintana: *Vuélvome pues a Vallecas
hasta ver destas marañas
el fin.*

Doña Juana: *Dé de mis hazañas.*
(*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, II, i.)

Dofia Clara: *Celos de Don Gil me dan
ánimo a que en traje de hombre
mi mismo temor me asombre:
¡A fe que vengo galán!*
(*ibid.*, III, xvi.)

Dofia Juana: *Ya esta boba está en la trampa.
Ya soy hombre, ya mujer,
ya Don Gil, ya Dofia Elvira;
mas si amo ¿qué no seré?*
(*ibid.*, II, v.)

The split of characters is usually into two parts, but in such plays as *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* and *La celosa de sí misma* there is a shelling off of characterizations. Double and even triple splits result.

Dofia Magdalena: *Mira qué extraña quimera
causa este ciego interés,
que en tres dividirme ves,
y aunque una sola en tres soy,
amada en cuanto una, estoy
celosa de todas tres.*
(III, xvi.)

The process may consist of a primary denial or abandonment of self with a re-creation into a wished-for personality which may break off again into an elusive, shadowy creature of the second personality's imagining. This, at least, is what happens in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*. Dofia Juana assumes the characterization of Don Gil de las Calzas Verdes, and a little later, for expediency's sake, invents the Dofia Elvira character for herself.

Quintana: *Yo apostaré que te truecas
hoy en hombre y en mujer
veinte veces.*

Dofia Juana: *Las que viere
que mi remedio quiere,
porque todo es menester.*
(II, i.)

Dofia Inés (Aparte) [Speaking of "Dofia Elvira"]:
*¡Qué varonil
mujer! Por más que repara
mi amor, dice que es Don Gil
en la voz, presencia y cara.*
(III, vii.)

Almost paralleling this development is that of Don Martín, who becomes Don Gil de Albornoz and finally, in desperation, attempts to play Don Gil de las Calzas Verdes.¹²

These developments represent an attempt to flee out of an unsuccessful personality into a successful one, with the component parts being the same, and at the same time not the same, character. This flight from one's self, or, to put it another way, this process of "growing-out" or "becoming," a projection of the dramatic Ego beyond identity, finds its most spectacular utilization in this play,¹³ but it can be identified in other comedias: Doña Magdalena and Doña Angela become countesses in *La celosa de sí misma*; Doña Serafina imagines she is a man in the intensity of her pretending in *El vergonzoso en palacio*; and Mireno and Tarso change

12. Don Martín, thwarted at every turn by reality, finds another refuge of irreality beyond his Don Gil de Albornoz characterization: supernatural delusion, a further break in a personality already split. In the form of the play, it rounds out another symmetry by providing an off-shoot to match the Doña Elvira outgrowth. In meaning, it is a manifestation of illusionism. Seventeenth-century man, unable to fulfill his ambitions, or even satisfy his perceptions of his own situation, reaches above or beyond himself for explanation and justification. The result is a figure in conflict with himself, cast artistically in a posture of writhing struggle and twisted tension. It is noteworthy that Don Martín's delusions of supernatural persecution do not take the form of blind fate or disembodied spirits, but are quite tangibly personalized in Don Gil de las Calzas Verdes. Likewise worthy of attention is Quintana's observation, which keeps the seriousness of Don Martín's soliloquy within the bounds of the game.

Don Martín: *No es posible, sino que es
el espíritu inocente
de Doña Juana el que siente
que yo quiera a Doña Inés;
y que en castigo y venganza
del mal pago que la di,
se finge Don Gil, y aquí
hace guerra a mi esperanza.
Porque el perseguirme tanto,
el no haber parte o lugar
adonde a darme pesar
no acuda; si no es encanto,
¿qué otra cosa puede ser?
El no dejar casa o calle
que no busque por hallalle,
el nunca llegarle a ver,
el llamarse de mi nombre,
¿no es todo esto conjetura
de que es su alma que procura
que la venga y que me asombre?*

Quintana: (Aparte
*¡Esto es bueno! Doña Juana
cree que es alma que anda en pena.
¿Vió el mundo chanza más buena?
Pues no le ha de salir vana,
porque tengo de apoyar
este disparate.)*

(III, i.)

13. Don Juan and Doña Clara also essay the Don Gil rôle in Act III.

clothes with Ruy Lorenzo and Vasco, in the latter play, with Mireno becoming a nobleman.

Tarso: *¿No es bien que nudes el nombre?
Que el de Mireno no es bueno
para nombre de señor.*

Mireno: *Dices bien; no soy pastor,
ni he de llamarme Mireno.
Don Dionís de Portugal
es nombre ilustre y de fama;
Don Dionís desde hoy me llama.*
(1, xii.)

To pile up examples would be tedious. Suffice it to say that the splits in personality, representing as they do one of Tirso de Molina's most notable traits, point to the conclusion that the author betrays through them his doubts as to the ability of the human character to maintain its essential integrity when confronted by the problems of life. This is of a piece with Tirso's lack of faith in the noble sentiments and principles and affords another view of how life disintegrates in his plays. Attention has been called to the way in which he treats love, not as a force that lifts man toward the divine, but as a sensual game.¹⁴ The forms of love, honor, and heroism are there in one plane, and the consciousness of the emptiness of those forms is present in another plane. The reason for the disintegration of the great emotions and principles in Tirso's plays lies in this separation. The contrast constitutes the artistic effect—the baroque split.

Splits in the plays themselves naturally result from plots within plots, carnival within carnival. For this, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* alone provides abundant study: the division and redivision of personalities; the finesse of Doña Juana, who becomes Don Gil and then, after creating the "Doña Elvira" characterization, causes herself, Don Gil, to fall in love with herself, Doña Elvira; etc. The results for form in such designing are clear. The artist has brought the intricate parts of the pattern together so that a unified, dynamic whole is achieved, with Don Gil de las

14. It is not enough to say that the Neoplatonic principle is absent in Tirso's theater. Actually, the negation of it, or Neoplatonism reversed, is found there. The present study has been endeavoring to point out the baroque split, which is to say that the analysis, though dealing with a positive manifestation in Tirso, has been on the negative side. Translating this to a positive approach, it will be seen that the radiation outward but not upward, the splitting off of characters and situations into ephemeral counterparts and images of themselves, the horizontal projection of self beyond identity, the reciprocations between consciousness of emptiness and the emptiness itself—that all this is the opposite of Neoplatonism. It is the Neoplatonic ladder converted into a footbridge to cross a rushing stream.

Calzas Verdes (Doña Juana) and "Doña Elvira" (also Doña Juana) emerging in an enclosed design as facing figures, exactly matched and completely ethereal as creations.

But analyses like the foregoing, while useful as dissection, teach us only the anatomy of Tirso's theater. It would be regrettable to leave the impression that Tirso de Molina is just good autopsy material. To study adequately the living *comedias* he and his contemporaries wrote requires further observation. Otherwise the drama remains wrapped in the mood of pessimism and disillusionment which the Spanish seventeenth century shows in skepticism, asceticism, and the picaresque novel. Such a conclusion would miss the truth by a wide margin.

With the *comedia* the Spanish seventeenth century reached solid ground. Without suggesting that it miraculously solved all problems or relaxed all tensions, it can be said, nevertheless, that it reaffirmed the validity of noble aspiration and purposeful action. A line from *Don Gil* comes to mind in this connection: "Habéisme vuelto el alma al cuerpo." (II, xv.) Dualism of the ineluctable kind is not destroyed. But much that was transient and prescindible underwent the detached, skeptical scrutiny of Fray Gabriel Téllez.

For one thing, the *comedia*, and more particularly that of Tirso, broke the mold of a fantastic, formalized conception of certain human emotions and their objects, a phenomenon of Renaissance attitudes, and brought the living man of his time face to face with his destiny. It put aside the attachments of one period of life and entered fully into another. To be specific about this requires, first, a look at the attitude toward love before the rise of the *comedia*.

The Renaissance conception of love was a belief to which all but the lowest strata of society subscribed. Neoplatonic, it led man from the physical to the sublime; as a spiritual force it could be clear, vibrant, and alive, with an infinite perspective. But the expression of love also tended to become symbolic and to undergo the immobilizing effect of mannerism, or become a repetition of a credo. Emotional situations converted into set pieces, crystallized belief, on which were bestowed continued efforts to improve their embellishment but which remained more or less lifeless, while love was represented as a personage, an autonomous power to be reckoned with. A few extracts from Spanish writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may serve as illustrations.

From Garcilaso de la Vega comes this quatrain showing love as an element separate from the individual, an external power which envelops him and makes its adaptation to him:

*Amor, amor, un hábito vestí,
el cual de vuestro paño fué cortado;
al vestir ancho fué, mas apretado
y estrecho cuando estuvo sobre mí.*

Soneto xxvii (Clásicos castellanos, 3,
Madrid, 1911)

And of course those famous lines:

*Hablo de aquel cativo,
de quien tener se debe más cuidado,
que está muriendo vivo,
al remo condenado,
en la concha de Venus amarrado.*

(Canción Quinta [ibid.])

Rodrigo Cota's *Diálogo entre el amor y el viejo* has such passages as this:

El Viejo: *Tú traydor eres, Amor,
delos tuyos enemigo,
y los que bien contigo
son ministros de dolor.
Sábeta que sé que son
afán, desdén y desseo,
sospiro, celos, pasión,
osar, temer, afición,
guerra, saña, devaneo;
tormento y desesperança,
engaños con ceguedad*
.
.
.
y otros mil deste linaje,
que con su falso visaje
su forma nos desatina.

El Amor: *En tu habla representas
que nos has bien conocido.*

After much argument and persuasion, Love wins the Old Man to her proposal.

El Viejo: *Vente a mí, muy dulce Amor,
vente a mí, brazos abiertos.
Ves aquí tu servidor,
hecho siervo, de señor,
sin tener tus dones ciertos.*
etc.

(Nueva Bibl. de Aut. Esp., *Cancionero Castellano
del Siglo XV*, II, Madrid, 1915.)

And this is from Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*:

*Passaua amor su arco desarmado,
los ojos baxos, blando y muy modesto,
dexáuame ya atrás muy descuydado.*

*Quán poco espacio pude gozar esto;
fortuna de embidiosa dixo luego:
teneos amor, ¿porqué passáys tan presto?*

*Boluió de presto a mí aquel niño ciego,
muy enojado en verse reprendido:
que no ay reprehensión, do está su fuego.
Estaua ciego amor, mas bien me vido:
tan ciego le vea yo, que a nadie vea,
que así cegó mi alma y mi sentido.*

*Vengada me vea yo de quien dessea
a todos tanto mal que no consiente
en solo corazón que libre sea.*

*El arco armó el traydor muy breuemente,
no me tiró con xara enerbolada,
que luego puso en él su flecha ardiente.*

*Tomóme la fortuna desarmada,
que nunca suele amor hazer su hecho,
sino en la más essenta y descuydada.*

*Rompió con su saeta un duro pecho,
rompió una libertad jamás subiecta,
quedé tendida, y él muy satisfecho.
etc.*

(Libro III) (Nueva Bibl. de Aut. Esp.,
Origenes de la Novela, II, Madrid, 1907.)

The contrast of the foregoing with the attitude toward love in Tirso's plays is obvious. In the latter the image is broken. Furthermore, belief in love and in other noble sentiments, as they have conventionally been regarded, is denied. Tirso's skepticism cancels his adherence to that creed and he falls back on the most elemental reality of the love relationship: physical appetite and sensuality. His women characters embody this reaction. They also carry the initiative in his plays by dominating the love theme. The men characters are usually pawns in the game. Don Martín of *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, Mireno of *El vergonzoso en palacio*, and Don Melchor of *La celosa de sí misma*, to cite a few, are manipulated like puppets by Doña Juana, Doña Magdalena, and again Doña Magdalena, respectively, who use them almost as they will in the love schemes they carry out; this quite apart from the fact that the gentlemen concerned may display real stature in other ways. The

lady takes the offensive and widens her range of effective action by assuming masculine dress or other masquerade. As indicated earlier, by this device she bridges the gap between herself and society, between her desire and the judgment society would render on her motive and action. (It must be borne in mind that society emerges as a powerful *personaje* in the Baroque period). Thus the playwright resolves one dualism of *persona-personaje* by means of disguise.

One "fact" of the Middle Ages is the self-contained integrity of personal emotional life, resulting from the complete submission of the individual to the order of mundane circumstances and divine perspective. The Renaissance, concentrating on the value of the human aspect, applied yardsticks of perfectibility to human behavior. The norms that were set up were often exceedingly humanized beliefs, since the symbols were in human forms, (the Courtier, the Prince, etc.). The Baroque period saw society, that is, the world roundabout the individual, become the arbiter of his conduct. Ideas on what constituted good and bad taste developed. Society forced emotional manifestations to the surface, into public gaze, there to be cloaked in ways that the nature of that exposed emotion required, or that the attainment of its desire demanded. The dualism of personal-social thus set up, the individual character is confronted with the choice between introspective defeatism and sanguine self-assertion, between denial of the validity of his own aspirations and the aggressive affirmation of them. He can lead a negative existence or he can take a positive position regarding his present state and his goal. What he cannot do, unless he be a mystic, is separate himself from the complex of objects, things, forces, attitudes, people, etc., which form his world. Man's life is thus like a wheel, with the hub and spokes of his existence complementing and being complemented by the rim of his circumstances.

The women of Tirso's *comedias*, reflecting their inventor, do not subscribe to the conventional creed of love, and their lines of action are just as materialistic as their desires. Thus a world of "song and story" is shattered. Thus is broken, also, the perfect china figurine that the Renaissance set upon a pedestal as a model of emotional thought and conduct.

Having reached this point, the student of Tirso de Molina is tempted to stop. But this conclusion alone, valid as it may be, would cause the monk's *comedias* to be judged as dull expositions of cynical disbelief, as antiheroic, and would entail the obligation of explaining why their century found moral inspiration and spiritual reinforcement, as well as diversion and cultural delight, in such negative representations of life. For seventeenth-century Spaniards of all classes and conditions did find their

spiritual strength renewed by them, in spite of some modern critical opinion which declares that the *comedia* was written only for the sordid *vulgo* and in a preoccupation with "art," contradictory as those two judgments are in themselves when placed side by side. Actually the moral force of the *comedia* as Lope and Tirso wrote it is found in the *élan vital* of the characters, who build a new world amid the shattered ruins of the old one. Doña Juana of *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* is not living under the sway of Love's scepter. Her consciousness of Don Martín's part in her existence is not bounded by the horizon of love as dogmatic belief. The same can be said of Doña Magdalena and Doña Angela of *La celosa de sí misma*, of Doña Magdalena and Doña Serafina of *El vergonzoso en palacio*, of Doña Margarita and Doña Leonisa of *Esto sí que es negociar*, and women of the other plays.¹⁵ Their horizon is one of problem, of social complex; and society, which in its totality must necessarily include the object of their affections and themselves too, becomes their adversary. They confront it resolutely, armed not only with an unflinching determination but also with coldly calculating intelligence:

Doña Juana (*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*):

*Supe todo el caso, en fin,
y la distancia que hay
del prometer al cumplir.
Saqué fuerzas de flaqueza,
dejé el temor femenil,
dióme alientos el agravio,
y de la industria adquirí
la determinación cuerda;
porque pocas veces vi
no vencer la diligencia
cualquier fortuna infeliz.
Disfracéme como ves;
y fiándome de ti,
a la fortuna me arrojo,
y al puerto pienso salir.*

(I, i.)

Beatriz (*Amar por señas*):

*Valíme del industrioso
modo de encerrarle aquí,
hallándose amor en mí,
como en otras, ingenioso.*

(I, xi.)

15. The men characters should be included in this statement too, but since their function in Tirso's plays lies primarily along other lines, consideration of them will be reserved for later mention.

Mind has gained ascendancy over the naïve belief that love is an autonomous power that operates through some supposed system of tendencies or peculiar natural laws. The woman in love knows that she must do something about her own situation or her hopes will be lost. She draws "fuerzas de flaqueza," because to retire upon *flaqueza* means utter defeat. In effect, she must first overcome herself, and, with this battle won, the way is open. She is then able to take a position in regard to her problem, to stand off from it and study it rationally. This externalizing of the difficulty, or extrovert approach to it, testifies again to the significant personal dualism or split whereby intimate desire and the line of action necessary to attain that desire are divided into two separate categories. This process manifestly must reject as useless any faith in an ingenuous dogma of love. The division just described would have neither place nor meaning in such a doctrine. The approach to love is critical. Once the plan of attack is decided upon, the woman, trusting in the practicability of her scheme and the efficacy of her technique, gambles everything, (security, honor, happiness), on the strength of her will to win her goal. This is dynamic love, not ecstatic.

Before drawing broader conclusions it would be well to look now at the function of the men characters. In attitude and deed they contribute materially to the destruction of the dogmatism of love as a creative belief. They play love for the game it has become and unfaithfulness comes to be a literary theme.

Osorio: *¿No escuchas que Doña Juana
falta de su casa?*

Don Martín: *Yo sé donde oculta está.
Ahora llegó Quintana
con carta suya, y por ella
he sabido que encerrada
está en San Quirce, y preñada.*

.
*Pero entretendréla agora
escribiéndola, y después
que posea a Doña Inés,
puesto que mi ausencia llora,
la diré que tome estado
de religiosa.*

(*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, II, x.)

They, like the women, illustrate the fact that love in the Mercenarian's plays has become a hollow form. Don Martín's lament in Act III, Scene

1, of *Don Gil* shows the character turning into the very emptiness of his love:

*No digas más; basta y sobra
saber por mi mal, Quintana,
que murió mi Doña Juana.
Muy justa venganza cobra
el cielo de mi crueldad,
de mi ingratitud y olvido.
El que su homicida ha sido
soy yo, no su enfermedad.*

In general the men characters are more passive than active in the love theme. They are more pursued than pursuers. They have their principal function in Tirso as representatives and embodiments of valor.

But evidence was adduced earlier to show the illusory treatment of valor. It will be remembered that Don Martín made a travesty of honor and courage when challenged to a duel by Don Juan, in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*. And Don Martín's nerve is badly shaken by the misadventures that befall him at the hands of Don Gil. Such cases, of course, are part of the tearing-down process in Tirso's theater in connection with the higher virtues and sentiments as beliefs crystallized in symbols or dogmas. The stylized, stereotyped beliefs, the commonplace outlooks on the higher sentiments, had to be effectively destroyed before the *comedia* could amplify its range. Furthermore, the destructive process had to be done as part of the creation of a new outlook on human experience, and must not be any more disturbing to the analyst than any of the other dualisms which continually appear, dissolve, and form again in the *comedia*.¹⁶

In the heroines, the destruction of the conventional ideal of love brought sensuality and appetite to the fore of consciousness as a substitute. But it has been pointed out that this characteristic, while strong, did not become their exclusive trait.¹⁷ If such had come about, the theater of Tirso de Molina would doubtless not have attained its high place. The negative spiritual effect of that trait alone was saved by the strengthening of will, which, implementing desire, enlarged the stature of the person and caused her human character to expand and become more flexible.

16. Tirso's theater is a world of contrasts, extending down into the frequent antitheses in his expression: *loco—cuerdo; ganar—perder; volar—caer*; etc.

*Encontráronse a la par
el placer con el pesar,
la esperanza y el temor
(Don Gil, III, i.)*

17. Nor is there any wish here to consider them other than as complex personalities.

Personality thus finds a broader base; and the integrity of persons, definitely split by loss of faith in the mundane values and beliefs (the well-known *desengaño*), is reaffirmed by the determination of the will to achieve its goals.

The men characters share in this process. For them the epic tradition is broken. Disintegration of essential moral and spiritual forces appears inevitable in the complicated web of falsity, mockery, and deception. It seems that infidelity and cowardice must become the substitute for the loss of the higher sentiments in the men, just as appetite and sensuality became the reaction of disintegration in the women. But again, fortunately, the negative trend is counterbalanced by a renewal of purpose, a deepening of the resources of personal will. Man, as well as woman, looks toward his horizon with determination and measures the distance from his present position to his goal. Mireno, the *vergonzoso en palacio*, gives impulse and will their highest expression when he declares:

*No soy, seré;
que sólo por pretender
ser más de lo que hay en mí,
menosprecié lo que fui
por lo que tengo de ser.*

(I, xvi.)

In the dualized world of the theater one epic flame is extinguished and a new one is lighted. The goals of the hero in the *comedia* are practicable. He can attain them if his will is strong enough.¹⁸ And again the strengthening of will is accompanied by development of elasticity of character and expansion of personality. The climactic example of this is Don Juan, in whom insatiable human desire and indomitable will break the dam of moral and social restraints and rush onward in pursuit of life.

In conclusion, it is of paramount importance in studying Tirso de Molina to recognize that he has not made simply a comedy of buffoonery with his carnival. The world of appearances, falsifications, deceptions, and masquerades represents the destruction of one set of values and beliefs; of this process the real lesion was found to be the split, with its simultaneously ruinous and edifying effects which run through the author and his whole dramatic creation. In regard to love, Tirso takes a critical position and causes his characters to do the same. Thus he paved the way for a critical approach to the naïve dogmatization of love and brought about its destruction.

18. In such cases the *comedia*, while being something vastly more than comedy, is not tragedy.

The positive side of Tirso is one of conscious aspiration. In this area the conflict is between will and goals, and is by no means a frivolous struggle, since it involves an eternal problem. To come to grips with it Tirso has had to widen and enlarge the scope of human experience. His dramatic creatures, with the ground cut from under them by the negation of conventional patterns of belief and emotional attitude, have had to expand their own characters, make them elastic enough to include a broader outlook and a sterner purpose. A prime requisite for the attainment of this is the strengthening of personal resolve. Will must triumph over falsifications—such as that of love, in the case of Tirso's heroines—and go on to the achievement of desired goals (or impossible ones, as in the eternal character of Don Juan). Thus did Tirso de Molina reawaken a new epic spirit, extend the range of artistic and technical possibility in the theater, open new vistas on hope and courage, and give human, living dramas to his century and to posterity.

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COMMUNICATIONS

On Beethoven in France¹

A REPLY

To discuss a review, replete with basic errors of factual nature, is no handsome affair. We do not like to waste our time. Nor do we like to use the precious space of a distinguished periodical for lecturing on certain rudimentaries of musical history. But the reader of these pages has been offered a description of French music and French musical understanding that we think he has the right to question; for it has been bent and twisted by unhistorical dogma and pathetic generalizations.

That Professor Láng, in reviewing my book *Beethoven in France—The Growth of an Idea*, presents to the reader of this periodical a completely distorted account of its content, surely is nothing of disturbing consequence; in the interest of the reader, it may perhaps be regretted. For, after all, a review is supposed to be a fair service to the reader. That Professor Láng breezily accuses my method of being I do not know what, and my influence of being exceedingly dangerous, is, though complimentary, a challenge of the *vis comica*, a bit too bold. For, the greatly excited query: "*Quo vadis, scientia musicae?*", invites answers the inquisitive seeker may not have bargained to receive. That, however, Professor Láng imposes his dogmatic idea of French music upon the reader in order to gain a foothold for rejecting all and everything the French have thought about Beethoven, injures the interests of the reader. It is for this reason that I reply. The limited space at my disposal makes laconism a necessity. Yet before we proceed any further, a primary confusion should be made known; it derives from the reviewer's unwillingness to keep the idea or ideas, subject to interpretation, apart from the interpretative method. That is to say: because Professor Láng dislikes the method he feels sure I have been using, he denies the very existence of the ideas. Hence it so happens that he gives credit for the originality of ideas to me, rather than to the French whose intellectual property they are. For the sake of scholarly correctness, I must disclaim such credit, however honorable it should be to any author.

1. The *Romanic Review* published in the issue for February 1944 a review-article on Professor Leo Schrade's *Beethoven in France*, by Professor Paul Láng. We said we thought that the extended remarks of Professor Láng, on a recent trend in cultural history, would be of particular interest to our readers. Professor Schrade has since offered a Reply now published with Professor Láng's comment. Each scholar of course is speaking entirely for himself, and without any editing by the *Romanic Review*.

The Editors

Now, an account may be rendered of the errors of factual nature. According to the purpose of these lines, I shall select those only that convey to the reader of this periodical a character of French music I should regard as unfortunate if generally accepted. Professor Láng takes French music throughout the centuries of its long history to have been essentially opposed to all "absolute, pure" music; he presents it as a hybrid of literature and music; he assumes that there has been no music in France without literary aspects; he assures us that the French are simply incapable of producing pure music, incapable even of understanding instrumental, pure music when they face it; they always indulged in "abhorrence of abstract instrumental music" (Láng). Hence Beethoven is "*a hero about as far removed from French genius as anything can be*" (Láng; italics mine). Beethoven, the pure symphonist, is therefore "superimposed" on a nation whose very nature ruled out any understanding, no matter how simple. Consequently, all that the French have thought and said about Beethoven, is as much as sheer nonsense. To support his dogmatic theory, Professor Láng furnishes the evidence of history as follows: 1. the *Chanson de geste*; 2. the invention of program music by the French (no name or date is given; I assume Mr. Láng has Jannequin in mind); 3. the titles of French seventeenth-century music for lute and harpsichord; 4. the controversy on the prevalence of French or Italian opera in eighteenth-century France; 5. the program (literary) symphonies of Berlioz and Liszt; 6. the dances of Chopin; 7. the *Fêtes Galantes* of Debussy. In all these attainments "French genius insisted on meaning, i.e. literary associations, in its music" (Láng).

1. To begin with the *Chanson de geste*—we are embarrassed at its mention. Even if we stretch our imagination to the limit, we cannot see what the *Chanson de geste* and Debussy's *Fêtes Galantes* have in common, despite Professor Láng's suggestion that they must be placed side by side. Do we not know that the *Chanson de geste* consists of a few tones only, on which, by way of repeating this short "melodical" piece, the long epic story of a hero (Roland, for instance) is recited like a Litany, and that, at any rate, only one such piece (of precisely ten tones) exists while a few others are questionable? How can this *Chanson de geste* carry a literary program or a poetically descriptive element?

2. With regard to the "invention" of program music by the French, a mistake must be corrected that is frequently made. The descriptive compositions Jannequin has written have nothing whatever to do with those literary or poetical programs that underlie certain works of the nineteenth century. What Jannequin has done shows itself to be an artistic form of realism in music, as such not at all specifically French.

But it is typical of the Middle Ages and appears in Italy as well as in France, the *Caccia* and the *Chace* of the fourteenth century offering the most prominent but not exclusive instances of musical realism. Jannequin may have been one of the first composers who attempted to carry over the realism into the Netherlandish style which, by the nature of its fundamentally choral technique, was simply unprepared for it, after all previous forms of medieval realism had been worked out in the medium of a soloistic virtuoso style. Moreover, while all medieval composers treated realism as a secondary artistic possibility of the musical form, one among others of greater importance, Debussy derived his poetical aspect of instrumental music from an esthetic tenet that involved music as a whole. For this reason, too, it is impossible even to compare the literary symphonies of the nineteenth century with the realistic compositions of the Middle Ages.

3. Concerning the French seventeenth-century music for lute and harpsichord, the custom of giving compositions "poetical" titles which Professor Láng is quick to establish as literary programs, is by no means limited to France. As a matter of fact, in this, other nationalities preceded the French by a large margin. We notice that Italian instrumental music of the sixteenth century has works with such descriptive titles in profusion. (Examples in tablatures: Petrucci of 1508: No. 26; *Diversi Autori*, Venice, 1536: fol. 12-17, 38 etc.; Abondante, 1546: No. 13-24; etc., etc.) There lies nothing exclusively French in the matter. If, in support of "literary associations," François Couperin Jr. is sometimes mentioned as a forerunner of Debussy, again it is incorrect to single out the Frenchman alone, to say nothing of the principal inadequacy from which this comparison suffers. To obtain a historical opinion about this aspect in Couperin's music, we must take it as part of the stylistic agents generally employed for objective imitation by baroque musicians. They are European, not specifically French. In all fairness to the French, we should compare Couperin, not with Debussy, but, for instance, with Antonio Vivaldi: his concerti op. 3 contain the "*Estro armonico*," op. 4 "*La stravaganza*," op. 8 "*Le quattro stagioni*," op. 9 "*La cetra*," or his Concertos for Flute the so-called "*Night*," and the "*Goldfinch*," etc. Not without interest are the contributions to this stylistic category that come from a "pure" symphonist. Among the earliest symphonies of Haydn, the German (or the Austrian, since Professor Láng seems to be offended by calling Haydn a German as Haydn's contemporaries have done with as much proverbial haziness in matters of geography as Mr. Láng reserves for the French) there are compositions whose descriptive imitation appears still under the influ-

ence of baroque concepts. (The instances in Haydn's later works have a different motive.)

4. As to the controversy of the opera in eighteenth-century France, the violent dispute, theoretical and academic, involved in part esthetic tenets, in part, however, also national musical aspects revealed in documents that refer to the tense relationship between the French and Italians in Paris. All in all, the problem of the position to be allotted to the drama within the opera stands out as the most decisive element in the controversy. Thus it may well be taken to be of "literary" nature. But of the same breed as the nineteenth-century programs in musical composition? To judge merely from the secondary literature, one might say that the point of view Professor Láng maintains had been altogether discarded by the historian of music about twenty years ago.

5. The references to the "tone poems" of Berlioz, Liszt, and Debussy need no further comment, although the label of tone poems tells even here only half the story of their place in the art of music. What, however, the rhythmical structure of Chopin's dances has to do with the "poetical-literary" music of the French, I fail to see. If, on the other hand, Professor Láng reproaches the French of the romantic period for betraying "an utter lack of understanding of the symphony," because they describe it as "poetical," "elegant," "picturesque," or "piquant," in due correctness of historical interpretation we should add that the Germans of the same epoch who, we are to believe, understand symphonies as purists, have used precisely the same terms earlier than the French by as many years as German romanticism precedes the French. In fact, it is the Germans who have introduced this vocabulary into musical criticism.

What, then, remains of the evidence history furnishes to prove the dogma that the French could only compose in terms of literary associations? Nothing, except Berlioz and Debussy. But there lies the calamity of the argument as a whole: it is from a historically limited appearance, the work of Berlioz or Debussy, that sweeping conclusions are drawn; one appearance is expected to yield the abstract essence of French music, as a formula to be forced upon all phenomena of at least seven centuries. This capricious "method" of historiography is, I have no doubt, outmoded, even in our young discipline, musicology.

There is another serious error in the argument. In applying the "essence," the little formula, to the whole of French music, Professor Láng takes now the simple connection of word and tone (see: *Chanson de geste*, etc.), now the poetical program as "literary association." He assumes that a composer who sets music to a text does not write "pure"

music. There is, then, not the slightest difference any more between a French Sequence of the eleventh century, an Organum of Pérotin, a Motet of Pierre de la Croix or Philippe de Vitry, a Ballade of Guillaume de Machaut, a Rondeau of Dufay, a Motet of Josquin des Prés, a Mass of Palestrina, an Opera of Monteverdi, a Cantata of Bach, a Song of Schubert, and—the *Symphonie Fantastique* of Berlioz, the *Fêtes Galantes* of Debussy; all this, and much more, is outgrowth of literary associations. In other words: except perhaps for the music of the classic period, Europe has produced nothing but "literary" music.—(It may be well here to take note that it is a Frenchman who, so far as I can see, for the first time in the history of European music, made the actual sound effect of a composition the critical test of its artistic value; Guillaume de Machaut writes in *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, lettre 33, to Peronne; ed. P. Paris, 258 f.: "... mais par m'ame je ne l'oÿ onques et n'ay mie acoustumé de bailler chose que je face, tant que je l'aye oÿ." The judge of the quality is, in the final analysis, the pure sound of music, not the realization of some sort of a literary, poetical program.)

Now, let us once more view the French under the aspects of historical record, these French whom Professor Láng presents to the reader of this periodical as persons whose nature simply debars them from ever understanding or creating pure music and who will always be the victims of their own deficiencies by thinking in terms of "tone poetry." Why is it, then, that the French performances of Beethoven's symphonies during the '30s and '40s as well as in the latter part of the nineteenth century were admittedly the best all over Europe? This is on record and established, not by one, but by a multitude of documents. When Beethoven's factotum, Anton Schindler, came to Paris he was struck by the unmatched brilliancy of execution and interpretation; he even made a special point of the indisputable superiority of the French interpretations over the German ones. Even young Wagner who hated Paris praised the French performances of Beethoven as the finest ever to be achieved; he emulated them later in Dresden. And the concerts of Padeloup and Colonne, later in the century, tell the same story all over again. Strange that people with such extraordinary alertness as the French have the stuff needed for an understanding without knowing. And, we go on to ask, why is it that the French distinguished themselves through an utter lack of understanding when they really had to cope with music that was built upon true, literary associations? With the recipe of Professor Láng in hand, we should expect the French to be perfectly at home when "literary" music crossed their way. We know how they reacted to Berlioz' compositions; we know of the endless years of struggle Debussy had to go through. It is the Germans, the

"abstract, absolute" instrumentalists, who were first in acclaiming the symphonic poet Berlioz. All this, too, is a matter of record, not of method or of interpretation. Since the French are said never to understand pure music, Professor Láng even denies them the right to occupy themselves with Beethoven. Nevertheless, they did; and fortunately so. Yet in view of the historical record that nearly all intellectually leading men of France throughout the nineteenth century up to the present day persisted in being attracted by Beethoven as a cultural phenomenon, Professor Láng suggests that none, not even the greatest writers of France, should ever be taken seriously inasmuch as they plainly made fools of themselves. One cannot argue on such a basis. In his essay on the folly of referring truth or falsehood to our own abilities, Montaigne tells us that he used to declare all he could not well conceive, or all that was beyond his reach, simply to be "Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, / Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessali." [Horace]. He soon came to learn "that there is no greater folly in the world, than to reduce" striking phenomena "to the measure of our capacity, and bounds of our sufficiency."

A few further examinations should be made that seem to show French understanding of music in general, of Beethoven in particular, not to have been so objectionable after all. While Professor Láng in his review condemns the symbolic expressions of Victor Hugo and of all the romantics, while he even denies that the romantic poetry ever expressed irrational elements in symbolic terms, in his book on *Music in Western Civilization* he states: "Romanticism permitted the real to remain valid but liked to attach to it mysterious connotations." While he declares in his review that the French romantics had no relationship of value to Beethoven at all, in his book he believes: "To the romantics, Goethe and Beethoven seemed to have embodied most of that which was dear to them and toward which they were working." While he ridicules the interpretation of Beethoven by Romain Rolland as a fancy cult of heroes; he himself thinks: "Beethoven proved convincingly that true idealism is heroism; with him we reach . . . perhaps the ultimate limits of heroism expressed in music. He came as the herald of the nineteenth century, the musical prophet of will power. He rose from the spirit of the war for freedom, and, . . . he beseeched God to give him strength to 'conquer himself.' The firebrand and bacchant became a classicist through self-discipline." We read the passage in Rolland, in considerably better form, less watered down. While Professor Láng severely attacks fanciful descriptions of music by the French, he characterizes the Ninth Symphony: "The sufferings and trials of humanity we experience in the first three movements with the greatest intensity, al-

though the chorus, announcing the joy of mankind, joins in the fourth movement only. The same human beings who sing here in words were present for Beethoven in the previous movements where he speaks of their tribulations in a purely instrumental language. And now he turns to them: 'O Friends, not these sounds! Let us sing pleasanter and more joyful ones.' etc., etc. (A few lines, and no more, of the same kind complete what Professor Láng obviously takes to be a "scholarly" interpretation in contrast to the high-flying phrases of the innocent French). And I read the same interpretation in much better terms even with the smaller ones among the French writers. While Mr. Láng maintains in his review that nothing was stranger to Beethoven than any literary association, in his book he has Beethoven write even some sort of a philosophic treatise, for to him the Eighth Symphony is there "an essay on humor in music, a parody on the symphony itself." We assume that if the French would have said the same thing, they would have been severely taken to task. And while Professor Láng in his review assures us that Beethoven writes music without ideas, he tells us in his book that Beethoven's sounds are governed by ideas. But we cannot continue forever. In doing the same, Professor Láng lays claim to full righteousness, whereas the French to him are sinners. I always preferred the sinners.

At last, I may be permitted to raise a few questions concerning the method of musicology. It is here that Professor Láng takes special offence at the method he calls the "Geisteswissenschaft."² Were it truly as vague as he presents it to the reader, I cannot see any reason for so much excitement over so little. Fortunately, the "History of Ideas" does not grow on such soft ground. ("History of Ideas" is, I believe, the accepted English equivalent of the German "Geisteswissenschaften" the origin of which Mr. Láng attributes to Wilhelm Dilthey whom he regards as the *causa omnium malorum*, though still rooted in "the grand old school.")³ What this method of the "Geisteswissenschaft" is actually supposed to be, Professor Láng fails entirely to explain. If by the condemnable Geisteswissenschaft he means the new emphasis placed on the Geisteswissenschaften since the '80s of the last century, it is quite clear that this emphasis had its historical reason in the violent opposition

2. Mr. Láng discovers the first indication of the method in *Beethoven in France*. I frankly confess that I have never had any other method. All my books and essays are contributions to "Geisteswissenschaft."

3. For general information about the method I refer to the "Introduction. The study of the history of ideas," in *The Great Chain of Being* by Arthur O. Lovejoy, Cambridge (Mass.), 1936.

to the "Naturwissenschaften."⁴ Or is it the subject—one of the history of the human mind—that shows itself to be the cause of remonstrance? In the choice of the subject, Professor Láng accepts Gundolf's *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*. Similar problems in the History of Ideas are apparently ruled out. But why not also Fernand Baldensperger's *Goethe en France*, or Henri Peyre's *Shelley et la France*, or Arthur Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*? Moreover, the transformation of thoughts and ideals in their exchange between nations is, I believe, one of the most fascinating subjects that grants the student of history benefits we would not like to see neglected. For in addition to the immediate results such studies bring to research, they also contribute to a mutual understanding of peoples and countries which we are not imprudent enough to belittle. Is it, then, that Professor Láng means by Geisteswissenschaft a discipline that gained its renown through a profound lack of knowledge on the part of its representatives? But he himself admits that even the very new interpreters he so violently condemns, have an "erudition of vast proportions." Perhaps we must assume that the peculiar nature of any intellectual phenomenon in history makes historiography a "Geisteswissenschaft." Or else, the mere interpretation as an act of the intellect is the objectionable element. But "Geisteswissenschaft" is not a method; it is a discipline that deals with an intellectual subject, in contrast to physical matter. It may well be that we have to condemn these strange doctrines because of the philosophic attitude the historian brings to his work. Yet it is precisely the element of philosophy, varying in kind and degree, but always present, that made the work of all our great historians lasting, in spite of all the progress made in the discovery of facts: that of Michelet, Fustel de Coulanges, Taine, Carlyle, Buckle—in full recognition that "the mind triumphs over external agents." Even in our young discipline, musicology as a "Geisteswissenschaft" is no new invention. Forkel, Fétis, von Winterfeld, Jahn, Ambros, understood musical historiography to be such. Forkel was first in contributing to the universal history of human culture that the Göttingen school of historians undertook to accomplish. The preface and introduction to his history of music are, as "Versuch einer Metaphysik

4. Mr. Láng assumes that the "Geisteswissenschaft" brought about a "return" to Ranke and Mommsen. This is incorrect. Count Paul York von Wartenburg, the spiritus rector, strangely superior to his friend Dilthey, makes a strong opposition to Ranke known, regardless of some general esteem. And Dilthey himself once told the tale of a rather furious debate in the Berlin Academy at a meeting of which von Sybel designated Ranke as mere essayist. The affair with Mommsen is even worse. The open letter he published (I think it was early in 1884) made him "impossible as a historian," as the first reactions record.

der Tonkunst," the backbone of his historical interpretation. Fétis struggled all his life to formulate the "metaphysical" principle that governs the musical history: "Une fois entré dans les voies de cette philosophie, je me suis senti tout à coup dépouillé de passion dans mes jugements, et débarrassé de mes préjugés d'école."—Not for one or the other factual information, but for the intellectual interpretation do the histories of Forkel, Fétis, Ambros still live as documents worthy of study. "In historia philosophus" was never meant to justify arbitrary interpretation. And the interpretative analysis of the historical phenomenon has been as significant of historiography then, as it is now of musicology as a "Geisteswissenschaft." We believe that methods depend entirely on the subject of history to be treated.

There is, definitely, need for serious criticism in musicology. The reason for it I see largely to lie in what may best be called the "ruminative" procedure. I mean the duplications, summaries, the "translations," more or less literal, of secondary literature in foreign languages, mostly in German, presented under the pretext of making the results of research, carried out during the last thirty years, accessible to our students of the history of music. I fear this leads to the immediate loss of the primary *conditio sine qua non* of all historiography: the direct contact and continual familiarity with the original sources. The restriction to secondary literature rapidly impoverishes the discipline as a whole and brings about a complete standstill. It gradually narrows the scope of knowledge to a point where the historian runs the risk of being told: *Qui se scire putat, cum ignoret, reddit animum suum indocilem.*

LEO SCHRADER

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A COMMENT

It is rather unusual for a reviewer of a learned dissertation to question the very existence of the basic subject matter of the work reviewed, yet this is what I was compelled to do in my discussion of Professor Schrader's *Beethoven in France, The Growth of an Idea*. But the astonishing fact is that in his reply Dr. Schrader does not even attempt to defend his thesis, instead he treats the reviewer to a lesson in musicology. This reviewer would be the last to claim an all-embracing knowledge of the field of musical scholarship and he is always ready to learn. That, however, was not the issue.

Professor Schrader started out with the assumption that "... if we agree that the classic literature of Germany dominated the spirit of Europe we must also grant that she was not supreme in literature alone.

German classical music as well had its part in molding the European spirit. . . ." After this basic maxim he chose a suitable representative of this German music and proceeded to prove that Beethoven has a "French 'history,' as ideas, creations of the mind, can have their histories. It may claim to be one of the most fascinating and stirring chapters in the development of the modern spirit. It is not a matter of exclusively musical interest but a chapter in the history of the French mind, *involving the whole sphere of French intellectual life.*" (Italics mine here and below.) This would be enterprising enough, but the author is not satisfied with the subjection of the whole sphere of French intellectual life to a German musician. In Part Two of the Book, entitled "A French Religion," the Viennese master is made into God in Gaul: "France can rightly claim that she once believed in Beethoven, with all that a creed or faith implies. What other country has made Beethoven the deity or even the apostle of a creed? There is none, except France. . . . Religion is the supreme quality of the relation to Beethoven in France." It appears that while "the artist, composer, musician, writer, painter, sculptor, poet, philosopher, the man of station and the undistinguished, the men of religion and of politics, the statesman and the diplomat" clung to the "religion of Beethoven, *perhaps the only one of modern times that France has produced,*" the tricolor was flying high and proud from every mast in France. But the war of 1914 rudely interrupted this utter felicity: "France after losing the religion of Beethoven seems impoverished. We feel the emptiness that comes after the festival."

This strange fantasy is buttressed with many documents and quotations and backed by an impressive bibliography. Unfortunately, this type of historiography, reaching far into the realm of creative mysticism, is hindered rather than helped by the apparatus of the scholar. The author himself remarks about the notes in the back of the book that "they contribute nothing to the understanding of the interpretation." He ruefully states that "research is wont to rob myth and legend of their enchantment with such thoroughness as to undo any hallowing of a deity and to reduce to pitiful illusion what has been once a sacred creed." No critic could voice a more appropriate judgment, for that is exactly what befell *Beethoven in France*. In my article I berated certain factions in the new school of German "Geisteswissenschaft," in particular its branch dealing with music. Dr. Schrade is a true disciple of this school, for whenever its proponents are challenged on some fantastic sally they usually take refuge in, and bog down in, a morass of philological dialectics. In Professor Schrade's case I am afraid he did not even get the point of my criticism and mounts a defense of the French whom he

thinks I have grievously insulted and whom I am supposed to have accused of "an utter lack of understanding" of matters musical. Needless to say no one in his right mind would make such a statement. To say that the French nation is not a nation of symphonists is no more an insult than to state that on the whole the Germans (and I mean the Germans, not the Austrians) are not a nation of opera composers. I reiterate that the finest products of French music were always closely associated with literature or with verbal-poetic imagery. That is only natural, for "l'art de bien dire" is the essence of the French genius to whom abstract symphonism does not make sense. Far from being an insult, this is a recognition of a proud and unyielding artistic consciousness which endowed French music with an unmistakable quality of its own. Does not Professor Schrade think that it is much more grievous to accuse a nation with as ancient a civilization as that of France, a civilization which exhibited singular power to convert every influence and current reaching its orbit from without into part and parcel of its own, indivisible and usually indistinguishable from its own—to accuse such a nation of surrendering its whole intellectual life, nay its religion, to the distant image of a musician in Vienna whose stupendous works were largely unknown?¹ The author of *Beethoven in France* quotes, in his rebuttal, some passages I have written about Beethoven. Indeed, I have stated, for instance, that "to the romantics, Goethe and Beethoven seemed to have embodied most of that which was dear to them and toward which they were working." Yes, to the *German* romantics, whose movement, originally a literary trend, soon turned toward music to end in the "Gesamtkunstwerk," the union of all arts. All the passages so quoted by Schrade have reference to Beethoven and the romantic movement in the Germanic lands. None of the Latin nations had more than superficial connections with the Beethoven of central European romanticism.

Finally, let me quote from Mr. Schrade's rebuttal: "But why continue this tiresome business?" I will be perfectly willing to take up the many musicological issues raised by his "answer" and will even engage in a discussion of "Geisteswissenschaft" in general and the "interpretative method" in particular, but not until he undertakes to discuss the subject of my article: "The Decline and Fall of the Beethovenian Empire in France."

PAUL HENRY LÁNG

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1. See my analysis of the works quoted by Dr. Schrade's witnesses in my review in the February 1944 issue of the *RR*.

REVIEWS

Juan Pablo Forner as a Critic. By Sister Mary Fidelia Laughrin. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pp. ix+200.

The limited purpose and scope of this dissertation are defined in the Preface as follows: "Based on an intensive study of his two most outstanding works, the *Oración apologética* and the *Exequias de la lengua castellana*, the dissertation presents Forner as a critic. The study reveals the standards by which Forner judged the literature of Spain and France in his day. It shows to what extent and in what respects he exalted the literary and scientific glory of Spain's part, defended the *purismo* and *españolismo* of her language and literature, and protested against her acceptance of *galicismo* with its manifold implications—*aesthetic, philosophic and scientific.*"

Here then is an analysis of two of Forner's works already actually well known among the critics and readers of 18th-century Spanish literature. The three main chapters of the book ("Philosophy, Religion and Science"; "Art Principles"; "Literary Forms and Types") constitute a résumé of Forner's ideas which seldom departs from the text of Forner itself. Two earlier chapters deal respectively with the life and character of the author and with the general description and evaluation of the two works under discussion. A Conclusion, two Appendices and a Bibliography complete the study. The second Appendix contains in convenient alphabetical order, within each section, the criticism and comment found in the *Exequias* and the *Oración apologética* about Spanish, French, English, Italian, Greek and Latin authors.

Sister Mary Laughrin has conscientiously covered the ground of her investigation. She has read the best studies on the subject and given a clear and well ordered account of Forner's ideas, within the boundaries of the topic assigned. The final evaluation of Forner's character and significance as a critic is also clear and acceptable, although in entire conformity with the established criticism found even in the elementary hand-books. In short, she has done what could be politely called "a good piece of work." Yet there is little in the dissertation either factual or interpretative that could not be learned by reading the two works under scrutiny, accessible to any reader, and the studies already existing on Forner, above all Sainz Rodríguez's "Introduction" to the *Exequias* and Menéndez y Pelayo's *Historia de las ideas estéticas* and *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*.

What is the value of so restricted a study of Forner as a critic? There is no reference, outside of a few scattered remarks, to the great bulk of his polemic short papers. And how can one usefully discuss his philosophical ideas, granting that he may have had some, without giving any direct testimony that his main work in the field, *i.e.* the *Discursos filosóficos sobre el hombre*, has even been read? Sister Mary Laughrin is probably not to blame for the small result. But doctoral dissertations of this type are far too numerous. A long series of quotations

of an author's works loosely bound together by irrelevant commentaries—this kind of work is not greatly to the advantage of American scholarship.¹

ANGEL DEL RÍO

Columbia University

The Genres of Parnassian Poetry. A Study of the Parnassian Minors. By Aaron Schaffer. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, Extra Vol. xxx). Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944. Pp. 427.

L'intention de M. Schaffer était de rectifier, d'élargir et de nuancer le tableau que certains historiens de la littérature ont donné du mouvement parnassien. M. Souriau et M. Vincent, par exemple, voudraient réduire le Parnasse au seul Leconte de Lisle, ou au seul Hérédia; tout au plus admettent-ils, dans l'ombre des deux maîtres, une poignée de disciples. Ce point de vue est étroit, il est arbitraire, et il est dangereux, car il tend à s'imposer comme un dogme, pour le plus grand dommage de la vérité.

La vérité, c'est que pour se former une idée juste de la nature même du mouvement, de son ampleur et de sa variété, il faut considérer les *minores*; il faut l'étudier non seulement chez ses chefs de file, mais chez ses représentants les plus obscurs.

Non pas que M. Schaffer—tombant dans un excès contraire—veuille étendre à tous les collaborateurs du *Parnasse Contemporain* ce titre de "Parnassien" que Souriau et Vincent prétendent réserver à quelques *happy few*. Sur quatre-vingt-dix-neuf écrivains qui collaborèrent aux recueils successifs de Lemerre, il en retient seulement un peu plus de la moitié: exactement cinquante-six, qui lui semblent mériter cette dénomination. La question surgit aussitôt: à quoi donc reconnaît-on un *vrai* Parnassien?

Ce n'est pas aux sujets qu'il traite, et l'erreur traditionnelle est précisément ce croire que le genre parnassien par excellence est la poésie "impersonnelle" et "décorative"; en fait, il y a *des* genres parnassiens: "philosophique"; "classique ou exotique"; "satanique"; "anacréontique et funambulesque"; "régional" ou "réaliste"; enfin, "sentimental" (sans parler du genre "épique," déjà étudié par M. H. Hunt dans son récent ouvrage: *Epic in XIXth Century France*) Mais, si divers que soient ces modes d'inspiration, les poètes qui les ont cultivés ont en commun ces traits distinctifs: souci du métier; recherche de l'expression claire; horreur de la sensiblerie. La rencontre de ces trois caractères définit le "vrai" Parnassien; armé de cette définition, on peut éliminer les indignes; on peut aussi déterminer à quel moment un Mallarmé, par exemple, a cessé d'être parnassien: c'est quand il a cessé d'être clair.

Telles sont les conclusions auxquelles aboutit M. Schaffer. Couronnant un ouvrage de plus de quatre cents pages, elles semblent modestes à l'excès.

Avec un scrupule d'ailleurs très méritoire, l'auteur a voulu appuyer sa démonstration sur l'examen d'une cinquantaine de poètes mineurs, choisis parmi

1. There are various misprints. The name of Pablo de Olavide is difficult to recognize, by those not familiar with the period, under the form of *Olivade*, which appears twice (pages 96, note 13 and 97, note 15). Forner's native place is *Vinarez* and not *Viñarez* (page 1) and is located in what is today the province of Castellón de la Plana.

les représentants les plus typiques des "genres" qu'il étudie tour à tour. La méthode n'allait pas sans inconvénients. D'abord, la distinction des genres apparaît artificielle et fragile, sans compter qu'un même poète a pu s'exercer dans deux ou trois domaines différents; faut-il classer de Laprade parmi les "philosophes" ou les "antiquisants"? Ensuite, M. Schaffer a été amené à rédiger une série de monographies, dont certaines du reste sont bien venues et agréablement composées en "médaillons," mais dont la succession (avec l'inévitable notice biographique, etc.) devient vite monotone. Enfin, dans cet interminable palmarès, il n'y a naturellement, que des accessits. Présentés sous cette lumière égale, les pauvres *minores* apparaissent étrangement pâles et chétifs. Sans doute, il y a de beaux cris chez une Mme Ackermann; mais que dire des platitudes d'un André Lemoyne, de la niaiserie d'un Xavier de Ricard, des chevilles d'un Jean Lahor? Que dire de la "poésie" d'un Jules Breton, à peine moins exécrable que sa peinture? Leur véritable dénominateur commun, c'est la médiocrité: M. Schaffer lui-même ne se fait guère d'illusions là-dessus.

A la fin de chaque monographie, un paragraphe est consacré à la technique: différents mètres employés, choix des rimes, etc. M. Schaffer s'efforce ici de dresser des statistiques précises: il calcule, par exemple, que Rollinat atteint "a lifetime average of 64 per cent of rich rhyme." Malheureusement, de toute cette computation ne ressort aucune conclusion positive, sinon que les Parnassiens sont des rimeurs consciencieux . . . On eût aimé savoir quelle fut au juste dans ce domaine leur originalité par rapport aux Romantiques, et ce que leur doivent leurs héritiers symbolistes.

Peut-être, de la matière assez ingrate dont il disposait, M. Schaffer aurait-il pu tirer un meilleur parti. Au lieu de juxtaposer des biographies et des morceaux d'anthologie, il aurait pu organiser son livre autour des thèmes majeurs (et non des "genres") du Parnasse; j'entends par là les idées ou les préoccupations qui paraissent avoir hanté les Parnassiens, et que l'on retrouve de l'un à l'autre. M. Schaffer a rencontré plusieurs de ces filons sur son chemin; il eût été intéressant de les suivre, et probablement fructueux. M. Hunt, dans l'ouvrage cité plus haut, a réussi à dégager, en étudiant les thèmes du "Progrès," de la "Rédemption par l'épreuve," etc., la philosophie de l'histoire qui est au cœur des épopées parnassiennes; et il a saisi du même coup quelques-uns des liens profonds qui rattachent le Parnasse au Romantisme. De même, il eût été instructif de rechercher pourquoi le "Crépuscule des Dieux" obsède l'imagination du Parnasse: n'est-ce pas le signe d'une inquiétude religieuse? De même encore, la "nostalgie hellénique" méritait une analyse plus pénétrante. A cet égard, le chapitre III, qui traite de l'inspiration antique, déçoit par sa sécheresse, et par l'absence de vues générales; il ne semble pas non plus que M. Schaffer ait mesuré toute la dette des Parnassiens envers l'érudition contemporaine.

En résumé, ce qui manque le plus à ce livre, qui représente une somme énorme de labeur et de patience, ce sont les perspectives qu'il pouvait ouvrir. Tel quel, il reste un répertoire précieux, d'une information minutieuse et sûre.

JEAN SEZNEC

Harvard University

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. All manuscripts should be typewritten and double-spaced with ample margins.
2. Quotations in any language of over four or five typewritten lines will generally be printed in small roman as separate paragraphs (set-down matter). In the typescript such extracts should be in a separate paragraph single-spaced and should not be enclosed in quotation marks.
3. Titles of books and periodicals will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Titles of articles, chapters and poems should be in roman enclosed in quotation marks.
4. In titles of English publications, in titles of periodicals in any language except German, and in divisions of English works (parts, chapters, sections, poems, articles, etc.), the first word and all the principal words should be capitalized. Ex:

The Comedy of Errors

In the *Romanic Review* there appeared an article entitled "Flaubert's Correspondence with Louise Colet, Chronology and Notes."

Such a repetition may be found in the Preface. (But: James Gray wrote the preface for the second edition.)

5. In an English passage French titles should have the article capitalized and underlined as part of the title. Ex: He read *La France vivante*. In a French passage, the article should be neither capitalized nor underlined. Ex: Il a lu la *France vivante* et l'*Histoire de la littérature française* de Lanson.
6. In an English passage, French and Italian titles should be capitalized as follows. The first word is always capitalized. If a substantive immediately follows an initial article, definite or indefinite, it is also capitalized. If the substantive is preceded by an adjective, this also receives a capital letter. If the title begins with any other word than an article or an adjective, the words

following are all in lower-case. Ex: *Les Femmes savantes*; *La Folle Journée*; *L'Âge ingrat*; *De la terre à la lune*; *Sur la piste*; *La Leda senza cigno*; *Scrittori del tempo nostro*; *I Narratori*; *Nell'azzurro*; *Piccolo Mondo antico*.

7. Spanish titles should have a capital only on the first word unless the title contains a proper noun. Ex: *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer*; *La perfecta casada*.
8. Words or phrases not in the language of the article, and not yet naturalized, will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Consult the dictionary if in doubt. Ex: *genre*, *pièce à thèse*, *ancien régime*, *Zeitgeist*.
9. All quotations should correspond exactly with the original in wording, spelling, and punctuation. Words or phrases in quotations must not be italicized or underlined unless they are so in the original or unless it is indicated in a footnote that the italics have been added. Any interpolation in an extract should be indicated by enclosing it in brackets; any omission should be indicated by three periods. Ex: "It is this work [*Le Lys dans la vallée*] which—"; "Il est . . . absorbé par des travaux—."
10. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout each article or book-review. In the text the note number should be printed as a superior figure (slightly above the typed line); at the head of the note itself, it should be a figure of normal size followed by a period (on a level with the typed line). Ex: At eighteen, he moved to Paris.¹

1. John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 48.

11. Footnotes may be typed into the article itself, separated from the text by ruled lines, or subjoined to the end of the text, on separate pages.
12. Note numbers in the text always follow the punctuation. Ex: There is no question as to the date of this edition.² As Flaubert stated,³ he was willing to—.

13. Short references included in the text to save footnotes, should be enclosed in parentheses and should not contain abbreviations. In book-reviews this is often the easiest way to make a direct reference to the work which is being reviewed. Ex: In the Introduction (page 10), the author remarks—.

14. Names should never be abbreviated. Even the name of the author of a work which is being reviewed should be written out each time that it is used.

15. All footnotes must begin with a capital letter and end with a period or some other final punctuation. Each note should contain an exact reference to the page or pages in question; the title is rarely enough. If a footnote refers to the same title cited in the preceding note, *ibid.* should be used to avoid repeating the title. If a note refers to a work already cited, but not cited in the preceding footnote, *op. cit.* should be used for a book, *loc. cit.* for an article. Such abbreviations should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the aim, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no rule need be laid down. Ex:

10. Cross, Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*, p. 35.

11. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p. 90.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

13. W. A. Nitze, "Lancelot and Guinevere," *Speculum*, viii, 240.

14. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

15. Nitze, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.

16. In the citation of references the amount of bibliographical detail is left to the discretion of the contributor, but the order of the items should be presented as indicated below. Inclusion of items (3), (4), and (5) is optional with the contributor.

In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his first name or initials, (2) the title italicized (underlined), (3) where necessary, the edition, (4) place of publication, (5) name of publisher, (6) date of publica-

tion, (7) reference to volume in capital roman numerals without preceding 'Vol.' or 'V.', (8) reference to page in arabic numerals, preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.' only when there is no preceding reference to volume. Each item but the last should be followed by a comma; the last item should be followed by a period. Ex:

Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la littérature française de 1789, à nos jours*, Paris, Stock, 1936, p. 60.

H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 4th ed., New York, Macmillan, 1925, ii, 221-225.

17. Reference to periodicals should include wherever possible, volume number and page number or numbers. Where it is desirable to give the year also, it should follow the volume number, in parentheses. When it is impossible to give a volume number, the date of the issue should take its place. Ex:

La Nouvelle Revue Française, ii (1909), 224.

Les Nouvelles Littéraires, 30 juillet 1932, p. 8.

18. The following periodicals should be abbreviated as follows in footnotes:

Grübers Grundriss der romanischen Philologie—GG

Modern Language Journal—MLJ

Modern Language Notes—MLN

Modern Philology—MP

Publications of the Modern Language Association—PMLA

Romania—R

Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France—RHL

Revue de Littérature Comparée—RLC

Romanic Review—RR

Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur—ZFSL

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie—ZRP

19. The following Latin words and abbreviations will be italicized and should be underlined in typescript. They should be capitalized only when they begin a footnote. *ca.* (about, in dates), *e.g.* (for instance), *et al.* (and others), *ibid.* (not *ib.* or *idem*, the same reference), *i.e.*

(that is), *loc. cit.* (place cited), *op. cit.* (work cited), *passim* (here and there), *sic* (thus), *vs.* (versus). Exceptions are: etc., viz.

20. The following abbreviations will appear in roman type and therefore should not be underlined in typescript: cf., f., ff. (following), fol. foll. (folio, folios), l., ll. (line, lines), p., pp., vol., vs., vss. (verses). Mme and Mlle, MS and MSS (manuscript, manuscripts) should be typed without periods.
21. Headings for book-reviews should follow these models:

Jules Sandeau, l'homme et la vie. Par

Mabel Silver. Paris, Boivin, 1936. Pp. 247.

A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. By Professor Henry Carrington Lancaster. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. *Part I* (1610-1634), 2 vols., 1929. Pp. 785. *Part II* (1635-1651), 2 vols., 1932. Pp. 804. *Part III* (1652-1672), 2 vols., 1936. Pp. 896.

22. All references in the completed manuscript should be verified before it is submitted for publication.
23. Contributors should retain an accurate carbon copy of their manuscripts.

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